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ABSTRACT

Six approaches to community development are presented by several authors in this booklet. Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the community development concept. In chapter 2, L. J. Cary emphasizes three distinctive features of the community approach: (1) popular or broad-based participation, (2) community as an important concept, and (3) the holistic nature of concern. In "The Information Self-help Approach", H. Y. McClusky suggests that the right kind of information applied by knowledgeable participants at strategic junctures can make a difference in community development. In chapter 4, R. Thomas places heavy emphasis upon the "special problem" as the target for resolution in a problem-solving approach. He illustrates how a common interest in a particular problem goes beyond the limited locational criteria of community. W. M. Evensen, writing on the experimental approach, reveals a growing concern among agencies and institutions in the application of a quasi-experimental design to community-development activities. G. S. Abshier, in "The Demonstration Approach," emphasizes the difference between a true experimental program and a demonstration. Finally, R. J. Salmon and G. A. Tapper discuss the dynamic approach of power-conflict. They explore the meaning of power in the community-development process today. Biographical sketches of the authors are included. (Author/CT)

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Approaches to Community Development

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* * *

Robert C. Anderson received BS and MS degrees from the University of Minnesota, and a PhD degree from Michigan State University. After a variety of experiences in Cooperative Extension, he is currently Assistant Director and Professor at the Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University. He is active in a number of sociological and community development organizations, including the Community Development Society.

* * *

Jon A. Blubaugh received a BS degree from Wichita State University, and MA and PhD degrees from the University of Kansas. His professional experience includes teaching posts at Bowling Green University and the University of Wisconsin. Currently, he is Director of the Community Development Center and Associate Professor of Speech Communication and Human Relations at the University of Kansas. He has been active in development of Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act and has served as consultant to numerous community organizations.

* * *

Lee J. Cary received a BS degree from the College of the Holy Cross, an MSS from the University of Buffalo, and a PhD from Syracuse University. He is Professor of Regional and Community Affairs at the University of Missouri and served as Departmental Chairman from 1966 to 1973. He was the first President of the Community Development Society during 1969-1970. He is editor and co-author of *Community Development as a Process*, published by the University of Missouri Press in 1970.

* * *

William McNally Evensen received a BA in Political Science and an MA in Community Development and Adult Education from the University of California,

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* * *

Huey B. Long received BS, MS, and PhD degrees from Florida State University. Currently, he is Associate Professor of Adult Education and a member of the Institute of Community and Area Development at the University of Georgia. His experience includes a variety of responsible positions in state and local government and higher education, and he is active in several community development and adult education associations. He has written and published extensively and is author of the following publications by Prentice-Hall: *Are They Ever Too Old to Learn?, The Psychology of Aging: How It Affects Learning*, and *The Physiology of Aging: How It Affects Learning*.

* * *

Howard Y. McClusky received a BA degree from Park College and a PhD degree from the University of Chicago. He was the first Chariman of the Department of Community and Adult Education of the School of Education and Chairman of the Department of Community Development in the Extension Division of the University of Michigan. He was first President of the Adult Education Association of the United States of America, was cited for the Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award of the University of Michigan, and has served as consultant to numerous institutions of higher education and foundations. He has been actively involved with the White House Conference on Aging. He has published extensively in the fields of psychology, adult education, community development, and aging.

* * *

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* * *

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* * *

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SIX APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AN INTRODUCTION

Huey B. Long, Robert C. Anderson, and Jon A. Blubaugh

The Project

The years 1960-1970 were, among many things, a time of questioning; a time that gave impetus to inquiry and open conversation. Few areas of life and professional practice were exempted from the spirit of examination. In every facet of society, techniques and methods of the past were under challenge.

In this spirit, Otto Hoiberg of the University of Nebraska, then chairman of the Community Development Division of the NUEA, appointed a publications committee to consider a study of selected community development practices. The committee was composed of Robert C. Anderson of Michigan State University, Robert Senecal of the Kansas Board of Regents, Keith Wilson of the University of Utah, and Huey Long of the University of Georgia. Jon Blubaugh of the University of Kansas replaced Senecal on the committee, and Long replaced Anderson as chairman, in December of 1969.

A review of community development literature during 1968-1969 revealed the need for several publications to deal with different aspects of community development, e.g., philosophical objectives, community development theory, community development techniques, administrative procedures for community development programming, and the community development agent. *Approaches to Community Development* was designed as a broad, introductory pilot publication to test the feasibility of such a series.

It is not the purpose of *Approaches to Community Development* to provide an exhaustive coverage of the variety of approaches to community development in use today. Nor is the publication intended to answer the question of optimal approach.

Instead, it is our purpose to provide information that may serve as the basis for further inquiry and discussion.

The Manuscript

The concept of community development is not new. The basic idea flows through American history from the time of the early colonists to the contemporary period, from Hull House to HUD, from Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission to revenue sharing and the "New Federalism." The concept meanders through America from Portland to Port Arthur, from Savannah to Seattle. To be sure, there has been an ebb and flow of community development concern that has varied from periods of inactivity to hyperactive times. In the most recent period, there has been growing awareness of the inequality of opportunity that exists for minority groups, as well as concern for the growth and decay of urban areas, and a corresponding anxiety regarding the decline and deterioration of rural communities. Awareness of these problems has reemphasized the need for continuing improvement in the conceptualization and practice of various approaches to community development.

A review of the literature shows that most publications dealing with community development treat one or at best two or three of the major approaches to the field. As a result, many lay practitioners and students of community development form incomplete and sometimes incorrect concepts of the "other" approach. Indeed, community development is characterized by provincial and sometimes highly idiosyncratic views that create difficulties in developing a clear concept of exactly what the "other" approach is. Too often, in fact, the practitioners of community development become committed to a single approach, sometimes because of the traditions of the agency or institution for which they work, sometimes simply because an alternative is unfamiliar. With this in mind, the editors have placed illustrations of the major alternatives side by side, and the authors have sought rigorously to focus on "description" rather than "promotion" of each approach. The reader is free to bring his own evaluative judgments to bear in assessing the suitability of different methods; he is invited and encouraged to consider the possibility of employing the procedures of several of the approaches, and then of selecting the most appropriate approach. The imaginative practitioner may well discover ways in which these approaches can be combined or used "serially" in assisting communities to shape their own destinies.

In compiling a study of this design, the editors and authors have assumed certain operational objectives: (1) to provide an overview of the variety of approaches to community development; (2) to illustrate that many agencies, organizations, and/or institutions employ community development processes; and (3) to demonstrate that community development may be practiced without restriction to a specific discipline or institutional framework.

Next, it was determined that the publication should explore each of six approaches to planned community change: (1) the community approach, (2) the informational self-help approach, (3) the special-purpose problem-solving approach, (4) the demonstration approach, (5) the experimental approach, and (6) the power-conflict approach.

Definition and Classification

A variety of definitions of community are offered. These definitions range from academic to functional criteria. While it is logical to assume that the definition of community is intrinsically related to the proposed community development approach, this does not appear to be the case. Although community developers strongly defend one or another approach to community development, they appear to be less dogmatic about a definition of community. Therefore, the editors have chosen to accept as sufficient the description offered by Si Kahn. To Kahn, "community means those people whom the organizer [i.e., community developer] is working with directly or intends to work with eventually."[1] The option of defining what a community is, according to Kahn, belongs to the community developer. Therefore, the only definitions of community in this publication are those which are tied to one or another approach to community development.

This editorial decision is a reflection of reality. As Roland Warren observes:

> A good case could be made for asserting that there is no thing out there to correspond to the term 'community'—or, at best, that what is out there is, in the vernacular, a can of worms. Yet planners and community organizers—and at times sociologists—seem to find little difficulty in speaking of the community interest, of planning for the community, of securing community participation, of implementing community goals. Is it not essentially fallacious to convert this can of worms into a unit by the mere verbal magic of calling it a community, and then to treat the word itself as though it represented some virtually tangible thing that has interests, has goals, resists this, supports that, has needs, is planned for, and so on?[2]

Community development has been elsewhere variously described or defined as a social movement, a process, a method, and a program. Each of these definitions, like those for community, can place restrictive limits on the overall goals of the plan for community development.

Moreover, just as a rigid definition of community can limit a developer's effectiveness in dealing with problems, so, too, a monolithic concept of community development can produce much controversy and few results. Therefore, the editors have preferred to discuss community development in terms of various approaches, which are seen as alternate ways of initiating community development.

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[1]Si Kahn, *How People Get Power* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 4.

[2]Roland L. Warren, *Truth, Love, and Social Change* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), p. 129.

Jack Rothman, in *Three Models of Community Organization Practice*, maintains that "there are different forms of community organization development practice and . . . we should speak of community organization *methods* rather than *the* community organization method."[3] As Hans Spiegel notes:

> The time may well be here to empirically examine the various approaches currently being utilized under the rubric of domestic community development. The various models intrigue me. I for one would like to know more about the assumptions underlying the different approaches to CD, the personnel operative in each, the results that each produces, and the training methodologies employed by each. Part of this task has already been accomplished. We need more than a cataloguing of these approaches and stringing them out in a long laundry list.[4]

This publication may be viewed as one step in the direction suggested by Spiegel, and to this end, the editors have considered several ways in which the approaches to community development can be classified. Rothman, for example, establishes three major classifications of community development: locality development, social planning, and social action. In addition, he suggests the possibility of other models that may arise from mutations of the three basic models. Furthermore, he suggests that a number of variables may be involved in the identification and classification of a specific community development activity.

Rothman uses twelve practice variables: (1) goal categories, (2) assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions, (3) basic change strategy, (4) characteristic change tactics and techniques, (5) salient practitioner roles, (6) medium of change, (7) orientation toward power structure(s), (8) boundary definitions of the community client system or constituency, (9) assumptions regarding interests of community subparts, (10) conception of public interest, (11) conception of the client population or constituency, and (12) conception of client role. In addition, Rothman suggests three variables for personnel: agency type, practice positions, and professional analogues.

Chin and Benne, while not addressing themselves specifically to community development, outline three general strategies for change and the assumptions upon which each is based.[5] The choice of one of these strategies—rational-empirical, normative-reeducative, or power-coercive—depends on assumptions concerning

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[3]Jack Rothman, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," in *Strategies of Community Organization: A Book of Readings*, Fred M. Cox et al. (Eds.) (Itasca, Ill.: Peacock Publishers, 1970), pp. 21, 24-25.

[4]Hans B. C. Spiegel, "Changing Assumptions About Community Change," *Journal of the Community Development Society*, 2 (2) (Fall 1971), p. 14.

[5]Robert Chin and Kenneth D. Benne, "General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems," in *The Planning of Change*, Warren Bennis et al. (Eds.) (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 32-59.

the nature of man, power relationships, and the attitudes and value systems of the clients.

Morris and Binstock also suggest a three-fold division of the field of community planning and action.[6] Change would take place through (1) modifying human attitudes and behavioral patterns through educational or other means, (2) altering social conditions by changing the policies of formal organizations, or (3) effecting reforms in major legal and functional systems of a society.

Change, therefore, is what community development is all about, and there are three basic types of change: (1) evolutionary change, (2) accidental change, and (3) planned change. Evolutionary change occurs in the natural process of events. People are born and they die. Houses are needed for people to live in and they get built. New institutions come into being and are maintained. These types of change are not to be viewed as community development. They are what may be called development "in the natural course of events."

Accidental change is that change which occurs as the result of an unplanned happening. Forces organized for one purpose may produce unanticipated consequences in another area. For example, as a result of meetings designed to encourage and bring about rural zoning, residents may organize a clean-up campaign. Or, an unplanned event may result in an unplanned change of quite another nature; a race riot might, for example, produce increased suppression. Again, these types of development or change would not be considered community development in our definition of terms.

Planned change may be seen as the result of an organized direct intervention in a human system in order to achieve known and specified goals. It is this type of change with which our authors are concerned. It is the belief and assumption of both the editors and authors that planned change is more desirable than either evolutionary or accidental change. Furthermore, it is assumed that planned change or community development can and does occur.

Differences of Approach

Although all of the following chapters are predicated on this assumption of the desirability of planned change, the selected approaches are not the same. As might be expected, the six approaches to community development reveal some areas of agreement and some areas of difference. For example, there is unanimous concern for dissemination of information and for group action; whereas differences revolve, for the most part, around sequence and/or chronological order and temporal emphasis.

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[6]Robert Morris and Robert H. Binstock, with collaboration of Martin Rein, *Feasible Planning for Social Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 3-24.

The six described approaches suggest a changing attitude toward the definition of community. Generally, the authors accept a locality-based concept but further include shared interests that may extend well beyond area boundaries.

Cary, for example, emphasizes three distinctive features of the community approach: (1) popular or broad-based participation, (2) community as an important concept, and (3) the holistic nature of concern. In comparison, Thomas's chapter, although not ignoring these features, places heavy emphasis upon the "special problem" as the target for resolution. Thomas illustrates how a common interest in a particular problem—e.g., water—goes beyond the limited locational criteria of community.

McClusky's chapter is a logical follow-up to those of Cary and Thomas. McClusky's thesis is that the right kind of information, applied by knowledgeable participants at strategic junctures, can make a difference in community development.

Evensen reveals a growing concern among agencies and institutions in the application of a quasi-experimental design to community development activities. Not surprisingly, the strategies and behavior he describes are familiar to the Cary-Thomas-McClusky presentations.

Abshier emphasizes the difference between a true experimental program and a demonstration. The experimental approach seeks answers, whereas the demonstration approach is based on a belief that the answers are already available.

Salmon and Tapper discuss a dynamic approach: that of power-conflict. Their thesis is that the locus of power is a force in community development, and that the traditional definition of power must be broadened in the context of our complex technological society. They explore the meaning of power in the community development process today.

The Legacy of Alternative Approaches

The approaches described in the following chapters are illustrative of the major thrusts of community development in the United States during the 1970s. Under the rubric of community development, hospitals have been built, urban ghetto projects initiated, and industry recruited. Paper drives, antilitter campaigns, and riverfront beautification have received attention, along with job improvement and the extension of health services. Volunteers have joined professionals. Universities and colleges have become increasingly involved. In a field marked by so much variety, the editors feel that the students and practitioners of community development should not deny themselves the richness that diversity of approach, both conceptual and operational, can provide.

Acknowledgments

The editors are grateful to the authors of the separate chapters for their contributions to understanding of community development. Each author was selected according to one of two criteria: (1) he is well-known for his use of a specific approach, or (2) he is, in the opinion of the editorial committee, especially well-equipped to describe a selected approach. It should not be assumed that the authors either exlusively or necessarily prefer the approaches they describe.

Additionally, the editors wish to express appreciation to Robert Senecal and Keith Wilson, who served in a variety of ways between 1968 and 1971; and to the division chairmen of the Development Committee, who were, in turn, Otto Hoiberg (1968-1969), Duane Gibson (1969-1971), and Richard Thomas (1971-1973).

THE COMMUNITY APPROACH

Lee J. Cary

The community approach to community development encompasses at least three distinctive features: (1) popular or broad-based participation, (2) community as an important concept, and (3) the holistic nature of concern. Much of the early experience in the community approach took place in towns and small cities, and in neighborhoods within larger communities. Five major assumptions that have particular relevance for the community approach are discussed. Advantages include increasing the participation of people in local decision making and action, viewing local issues holistically rather than fragmentally, and bringing about changes that are understood, supported, and carried out by the people involved. Disadvantages include the possible limitation of this approach to relatively small communities, and the decreasing importance of territorial anchorage as a determinant of social participation. The community approach continues to represent much of what is identified as community development.

* * *

Of the various approaches to community development, perhaps the community approach is most synonymous with the basic process we identify as community development. The community approach is based on the participation of a cross section of the people in a particular locality. Emphasis is on the fullest participation of citizens in determining and solving their own problems through democratic procedures and indigenous leadership. Rothman uses the term "locality development," in place of community development, to identify purposive community change "pursued optionally through broad participation of a wide

spectrum of people at the local community level in goal determination and action."[1] Popular or broad-based participation is certainly one of the unique features of the community approach.

Coupled with this is the concept of locality, a geographical base for participation. While social participation is less locality-oriented, locality is still functionally relevant in the identification of a community as distinguished from an "interest."

As Sutton points out, the concept of "community" involves "not what is 'local to,' but rather what is 'collective for' a resident population."[2] It is more enduring than an interest association and less specific than a geopolitical unit. The focus is on unit-loyalty, collective identity, and place.[3] Biddle uses a functional concept of community when he describes it as "whatever sense of the local common good citizens can be helped to achieve."[4] The definition, thus, is based on the interaction of people, on collective behavior, and on shared interests and concerns within a spatial context.

A third unique feature of the community approach is the holistic nature of concern. The community approach can encompass a wide range of problems and concerns *over time* (but not at one time). Dunham lists as a general characteristic that "Community development is concerned with the total community life and the total needs of the community instead of any one specialized aspect, such as agriculture, business, health, or education."[5] This has particular impact when one considers the community approach to the process. This view of the community as a whole, rather than a subcommunity or segments of the community, is basic to the community approach.

The holistic approach to the community and its concerns, the concept of community as shared interests and collective action within a place-related context, and popular participation in the process, are the three distinctive features which set off the community approach from other approaches to community development.

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[1]Jack Rothman, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," in *Strategies of Community Organization: A Book of Readings*, Fred M. Cox et al. (Eds.) (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1970), p. 21.

[2]Willis A. Sutton, Jr., "The Sociological Implications of the Community Development Process," in *Community Development As a Process*, Lee J. Cary (Ed) (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970), p. 59.

[3]Ibid.

[4]William W. Biddle and Loureide J. Biddle, *The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), p. 77.

[5]Arthur Dunham, *The New Community Organization* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 172. With permission of the publisher.

Participation

Community development is concerned with all of the people of a community, and this concern requires the fullest participation of people in the decision-making and action process. Participation is kept as open as possible so people can enter or leave the process in terms of their own needs and interests. The process continues over time and different people are apt to make different contributions at various stages in the process. Stated another way, various skills and needs are called for at different times by the process. Open participation helps to meet the participatory needs of both the people and the process. Finally, effort is made to involve as many people as possible. The purpose is not numbers alone, but to bring together as many different ideas, interests, and concerns as possible, in order to reflect the full range of the community.

To participate means to share in common with others. It means a share in decisions about goals and objectives, about what should be done. It also means shared action. Dunham supports the view "that community action be based primarily on the unforced consensus of the community, or the participants, rather than on the promotion of a predetermined program by a group or organization either inside or outside the community."[6] Arnstein, in "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," discusses various degrees of participation and raises serious questions about the intent and value of certain types of participation.[7] Those who throw up their hands at the thought of popular participation, and are concerned about the possible outcome, should consider change efforts which have taken place without participation, and examine the questionable outcomes of such efforts.[8] Urban renewal is only one such example.

Participation, then, means open, popular, and broad involvement of the people of the community in decisions that affect their lives. As Warren has indicated, it means "the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities."[9] There are, however, some problems associated with participation which need to be mentioned. In our mobile society, a number of people may lack identification with any aspect of community. In such instances, community issues and concerns may not seem relevant and important to them. Even where identification is strong, moreover, only a small percentage of the citizens participate in any way, beyond voting, in community activity.

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[6]Ibid., p. 173.

[7]Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35:4 (July 1969), pp. 216-224.

[8]Robert C. Anderson, "Our Educational Model of Participation Examined," *Journal of the Community Development Society* (Fall 1970), pp. 79-88.

[9]Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), p. 20.

While limited participation may be a cause for concern, full participation would also create problems. Although broad participation is sought, if it did develop there would be serious problems concerning the effective involvement of people in the process. Ross suggests that "if we are realistic we will not seek to assert or to encourage everyone to participate in everything. This is obviously impossible."[10] Elsewhere in the same article he points out that, because of our complex modern society, "it is not easy to identify the point at which the individual can effectively participate."[11]

Participation, then, is as inclusive as possible in the community approach to community development, but there are difficulties. Lack of identification with the community, difficulty in finding the point at which participation can be effective, and limited participation as the general pattern, all present problems. Beyond this, there are no satisfactory answers as to how large numbers can participate effectively or find satisfaction in such participation. The resolution of these problems may lie in the structure of participation in modern society. The community approach will continue to emphasize popular participation, but greater attention must be given to ways in which people can make the greatest contribution through their participation.

Community

The concept of community is elusive yet central to the community approach. We assume that the horizontal mobility of people will continue and, therefore, the number of families with deep roots in a particular community will continue to decrease. We are also aware that the size and complexity of many of our communities today make it difficult to identify the community, or to identify where and how one can participate in decisions affecting the community. Warren points to the fact that many problems are not accessible to solution on the community level, and many decisions of importance to the community are made outside the community.[12] When we are aware of these difficulties, how do we arrive at a useful definition of community? More important, is there value in attempting to establish such a definition?

We can agree that a strict locality base of participation is increasingly less viable in community development work. We can also identify a number of locality-relevant functions that call for decision making and action at the local community level.[13] We can add to this a shift in social participation from a locality base to an interest

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[10]Murray G. Ross, "Community Participation," *International Review of Community Development*, 5 (1960), p. 113.

[11]Ibid., p. 107.

[12]Warren, *The Community in America*, p. 53.

[13]Ibid., pp. 167-208.

base, and recognition that different issues and actions involve differing clusters of people. With acknowledgement of these points, the need still exists for a functional definition of community that is central to community development.

The concept of community aids us in understanding community development because of its focus on interrelated actions. The process we call community development is made up of a series of interrelated actions which help to define and redefine the community. Wherever we have a cluster of people with some shared interest, and interaction among these people over time, we have the essence of community. That this concept of community may in some instances coincide with an actual geographic community is incidental.

The Holistic Approach

Since the community development process is directed, so far as possible, to the "felt needs" of the community, any need or concern of the community may be the focus of the process. An approach which begins with special needs or interest areas that are already identified, imposes special needs or interests on the community, and in so doing limits the participation that may follow. In modern, complex society, there are increasing pressures from above (e.g., "packaged" national programs and offers of money or other resources to carry out certain activities) and pressures from the local community (e.g., special interest groups) to abandon the holistic concern in favor of specific programs and projects. While it is increasingly difficult to be open to a wide range of community needs and concerns, such openness is basic to broad participation.

Inclusive participation is related to a holistic view of community life and community needs. The broader the view of community, the greater the potential participation of the people in community decision making and action. The major variable, of course, is time. No community development program can work on a wide range of local concerns and involve large numbers of people at one time, but rather over time. There may be relatively brief periods of extensive participation (e.g., during a community self-survey or a voter registration campaign) and times when a number of needs are under study (when a priority list of community concerns is being developed), but generally the process is focused on one or a few particular goals, and only persons with interest in those goals are active participants.

In an age of increasing specialization and compartmentalization, and with a view to the dysfunctional aspects of these trends the holistic approach deserves particular attention. Part of the rationale for specialization is the complex nature of life and the need to focus on some manageable part of the whole. Perhaps the gains in specificity are more than offset by the loss in relatedness and cohesion. The holistic view attempts to focus on a part of the whole in a different way: by functioning broadly at the local level, but interacting with the larger society, and by taking on one or a very few concerns at a time. Some of the more recent federal programs have

made an effort to link up with local communities on the basis of the general needs in a specific area, rather than in terms of a specific program for general application.

Historical Development

The history of community development in the United States is essentially the history of the community approach to the process. Much of the early experience in community development centers on small towns and on neighborhood efforts within larger communities. A wide range of community needs are identified and become the focus of the process. Participation is general and as broad-based as possible. Raper notes that:

> American ancestors of community development include frontier mutual-aid practices, local government, private and public programs designed to encourage grass-roots prosperity, such as farmers' cooperatives, the Agricultural Extension Service, the Indian Service, and the work of the Farm Security Administration, especially in the South from the mid-20's to the early 40's.[14]

In terms of the principles and philosophy of the community approach, community development is a very old and well-established way for people to deal with common concerns. With respect to particular skills, ways of organization, and an emerging field of professional practice, however, community development is a recent phenomenon. Using contemporary concepts and terminology, the history of the community approach in the United States can be divided into two time periods: (1) the early experience, with an emphasis on rural development which began in the early 1900s and continued into the 1930s; and (2) the later experience which began in the late 1930s, with particular emphasis on social reform. A third period is beginning to emerge, with increased attention directed at community control on the one hand, and decentralization on the other. Coupled with this thrust is a growing interest in neighborhood corporations which offer a new organizational structure to carry out the community approach.

Early experience in the community approach is identified with Cooperative Agricultural Extension work, community adult education and extension programs, the cooperative movement, community betterment efforts, and neighborhood improvement associations, to cite a few examples. Extension workers and community adult educators provided the role model of the worker, and rural sociologists supplied much of the theoretical basis for the process. Characteristically, early community approach efforts worked with relatively small population groups, strove for consensus, and undertook projects which could be completed in a brief period of time and with tangible results. Swezey and Honigmann note that, "Perhaps more than anything else, technical assistance to American farmers and other rural folk under the United States Government's aegis

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[14]Arthur F. Raper, "The Role of Pilot and Demonstration Projects in Community Development Work," *Community Development Bulletin*, 2 (September 1956), p. 30.

set the pattern for emerging community development programs in the United States and, later, abroad."[15]

Later experience, beginning in the late 1930s, reveals an increasing emphasis on social reform. Specific examples include: (1) the power-conflict approach, such as Saul Alinsky's Back-of-the-Yards organization founded in Chicago in 1939; (2) the work of settlements and neighborhood centers in neighborhood organizations; and (3) the new federal programs involving citizen participation at the local community level, including the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency (1961), the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), and Model Cities (1967). In each of these, the emphasis is on social reform rather than on building or improving community facilities, as was characteristic of earlier experience.

An emphasis on community control is developing through such structures as neighborhood development corporations. The objective here is the actual control of local services and facilities by the people in a local area. Early efforts were directed toward public education, but more recent attention has been focused on police, fire, and other local public services. Arnstein sees such community control as the highest rung on "A Ladder of Citizen Participation."[16]

In each of the three time periods described, inclusive participation at the community level on a wide range of local issues and concerns is a common theme. In fact, the emphasis on what Ruoss refers to as "mass-based organizations" has tended to increase, and highlights the participation of large numbers of local residents in the process.[17] The definition of community has become more explicit, with specific boundaries for planning and action areas designated by community action agencies which are funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by City Demonstration Agencies under Model Cities. The rapid increase in neighborhood or community development corporations has also led to the establishment of definite community boundaries. The holistic approach has been limited somewhat to local issues of social reform; but, generally, the characteristics of the community approach have been and are major ingredients in community development efforts in this country.

The Literature

Our task is to abstract those assumptions, characteristics, and philosophical points that have particular relevance for the community approach to the process. Some of these assumptions will be shared with other community development approaches.

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[15]F. Curtis Swezey and John J. Honigman, "American Origins of Community Development," *International Review of Community Development*, 10 (1962), p. 165.

[16]Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," pp. 216-224.

[17]Meryl Ruoss, *Citizen Power and Social Change* (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), pp. 68-69.

Nevertheless, they will be included here because of their particular application to the community approach.

Dunham lists 14 general characteristics of the process and four have particular relevance:

[1] Community development is concerned with all the people of the community rather than any one group or segment of the population.

[2] Community development is concerned with the total community life and the total needs of the community.

[3] Community development is based upon the philosophy of self-help and participation by as many members of the community as possible.[18]

[4] In community development, direct participation is normally open to practically any community resident who wishes to participate.[19]

Bilinski discusses a number of dimensions or concepts distinctive to community development, and again several have particular relevance for the community approach:

[1] As a democratic process, it promotes the diffusion of decision-making power. This recognizes that the right to make decisions is to exercise power; it emphasizes the principle that those who have a stake in the community, those who are affected by community change, should have a right to participate actively in the process of selecting and managing that change.

[2] It promotes *self-help*, placing major reliance upon the local group for mobilizing and using the resources of the community.

[3] It promotes and emphasizes the virtues of *participation* by individuals and communities as having an inherent value apart from any product or objective toward which it may be directed.

[4] It views *the local community as the basic unit* for planning and development.

[5] It views the community as possessing wholeness.[20]

The holistic nature of the community approach rests on five major assumptions:

(1) No need or issue in the community is outside the purview of the community development process. Anything of interest or concern to the people can become the focus of their combined efforts to bring about change.

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[18]Dunham, *The New Community Organization*, p. 172.

[19]Ibid., p. 174.

[20]Russell Bilinski, "A Description and Assessment of Community Development," in *Selected Perspectives for Community Resource Development*, Luther T. Wallace et al. (Eds.) (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, School of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Agricultural Policy Institute, 1969), p. 173.

(2) No group or cluster of individuals can be excluded from potential participation in the process. Whether intentional or not, to that extent the community approach loses its holistic outlook. The concerns of a particular group may not come to light if that group has no voice in the process. While everyone cannot participate, every group or aggregation can at least have its concerns expressed and considered.

(3) Successful community development is directly related to the degree to which the widest potential participation is provided. Such broad and in-depth participation is cited as one of the unique characteristics of the community approach. This third assumption is supported by Ross' view:

> Man grows and fulfills himself as he participates in the regulation of his own life . . . unless man so participates, he becomes entirely subjected to the whim of forces which leave him socially and politically isolated and his life meaningless . . . without such participation, democracy has no life or vitality.[21]

Bloomberg adds that:

> There are no major formal organizations in the community which have as a central function the cultivation of citizenship. No institutional sector is devoted primarily to motivating participation in community affairs, developing the needed skills among the citizenry, and facilitating and organizing their involvement and participation in the recognition, definition, and resolution of community problems and issues. With the exceptions of elections and referenda, our ideology of local democracy would therefore seem to depend for its implementation more upon an informal and always emergent organization of community members than upon the formally organized institutional sectors.[22]

The community approach would appear to work toward formalizing citizen participation in community affairs.

(4) An issue or problem can best be resolved by taking into account the total life and needs of the whole community.

(5) The holistic approach is essential to community development, because so many problems are complex, because the focus of a specific problem is frequently limiting, and because a particular interest may leave out much of the community. Biddle notes that "Though the process starts with a few people and continues through the actions of small groups, it is holistic. . . . it seeks a

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[21]Murray G. Ross, *Community Organization: Theory and Principles* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 89.

[22]Warner Bloomberg, Jr., "Community Organization," in *Social Problems: A Modern Approach*, Howard S. Becker (Ed.) (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 374.

local wholeness that includes all people, all factions."[23] Bilinski refers to "the importance of the process of integrating the diverse parts into a harmonious whole community."[24] There are, in fact, several aspects of wholeness that need to be noted: (a) viewing the community as made up of various parts, subgroups, and factions, but also possessing a wholeness; (b) realizing the interrelatedness and interdependency of community problems, and the value of a broad, integrated approach to their solution; and (c) willingness to be concerned, over time, with a wide range of community needs instead of any one special need.

A Case Study

A case illustration will identify the community approach in practice. The example concerns a small community in the Midwest and involves a community development worker who is a member of the statewide extension staff of a land grant university. The case, taken from *The Theory and Practice of Community Development*, by Donald Littrell, clearly demonstrates both broad participation and the holistic view of the community.[25] It has been revised and shortened for inclusion here:

A group of citizens in a community of 3,100 asked a community development worker to come to their city council meeting, to discuss the problem they were having with the town's water system. The worker agreed and requested that the city council ask other members of the community to attend the meeting too. A date was set and the necessary arrangements were made.

On the evening of the meeting, 17 men and the community development worker were present. The mayor of the town chaired the meeting. He introduced the community development worker and explained the purpose of the meeting. Instead of launching into a general presentation on community development, the worker asked that the water problem be explained so that he could understand the situation. The technical problem was silting of the lines. The human problem was that people did not want to pay for a new system.

The community development worker explained that he was no engineer but had worked with citizens on a variety of problems which were similar in nature. He asked why people did not want to pay for a new system. He was told of other interests which people had and the lack of understanding of various community problems. The worker asked if there were problems other than water. He was assured that there were. Throughout the discussion, people who were not present were mentioned, usually in the context of a community interest other than water (e.g., parks, jobs, housing, schools). The community development worker asked if these

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[23]Biddle and Biddle, *The Community Development Process*, p. 74.

[24]Bilinski, "A Description and Assessment of Community Development," p. 173.

[25]Donald W. Littrell, *The Theory and Practice of Community Development* (Columbia: University of Missouri, Extension Division, 1970).

people were interested in the overall community, and if the water problem and whatever solution was devised would affect them. The reply was that parks need water, as do houses and schools. The worker asked if these people and other interested citizens should be asked to a conference to discuss the total community. This was agreed upon. The next question was, who should be asked. The worker pointed out that all people have a stake in the community, and that one of the principles of democracy and community development is that no one is denied access to the decision-making process.

When the first community-wide meeting was held, 69 people came. The mayor explained the purpose, stated that he was present to learn, and introduced the community development worker. The worker pointed out several different areas of concern that had been voiced by the people of the community and then asked for other concerns. The concerns mentioned included water, communications, parks, highways and streets, schools, housing, and jobs.

After listing these concerns, it was suggested that the group break into ten small groups to discuss the various needs. After 30 minutes, it was obvious from the intense conversation that considerable interest had been created. When the group reconvened, the major concerns were ranked in the following order: communications, parks, housing, overall organization, water, schools, and jobs.

At the second community-wide meeting, 72 people attended. The events of the previous meeting were reviewed, since some of the 72 had not been at the first meeting. The community development worker pointed out how each of the needs was related to others, and that it was impossible to concentrate upon one alone without affecting the total community. It was suggested that people work on those areas in which they were most interested, and that representatives from each interest group meet together as a steering or coordinating committee. It was also pointed out that resources people could be secured to relate to the various groups.

The interest groups started by securing information and data about their present situation. These data were shared with as many people as possible. One of the most active groups was concerned with community communications. A weekly newspaper, a new profit-making enterprise, was established and distributed to all households. Other results appeared. A park was established, street and highway improvements are in progress, an overall community organization has been developed, housing has been improved, the quality and number of jobs has been increased, *and* the water system has been reconditioned.

In commenting on this case, Littrell notes that "not only are projects undertaken of major importance, but also 250 people have been actively involved in creating an improved environment. Due to these processes of study, planning, and action, these people have become more competent in dealing with their environment in a democratic manner."[26]

[26]Ibid., p. 17.

Advantages and Disadvantages

As with any approach there are advantages and disadvantages. It is important to identify these so that the community approach can be employed in those situations where inclusive participation and the holistic view have a high priority.

With emphasis on involvement of local residents in the process, the advantages include: (1) increasing the participation (both in amount and kind) of people in local decision making and action; (2) bringing about changes that are understood, supported, and carried out by the people; and (3) providing people with training and experience in democratic decision making and action at the local level.

With emphasis on the holistic approach, the advantages include: (1) viewing local issues holistically rather than developing a fragmented approach to problem solving; (2) seeing the interrelatedness of problems and the need to develop both cooperation and consensus; and (3) taking into account various factions and subgroups, and their problems, concerns, and proposed solutions. In addition Ohlin suggests several goals for extensive resident participation, and a broad approach to issues and problems:

> to redistribute and broaden the bases of social power and the exercise of authority. . . . to heighten the personal investment of members in the established social order. . . . to provide an arena for the training and recruitment of leaders for higher levels of organizational participation. . . . to promote a more flexible adjustment of major social institutions to the distinctive life styles of the local community.[27]

With emphasis on community, the particular advantage is a matter of scale. In the community approach, the site for decision making and action is usually a town or small city, or a neighborhood in a larger urban area. What is lost in the size of the unit may be more than offset by the opportunity to involve many people in a general approach to community needs. The community approach has particular application to action programs and planning units under OEO and Model Cities, and to neighborhood development corporations under both public and private funding.

The disadvantages to the community approach are particularly noticeable when the approach is applied in the wrong situations. It may, for example, be limited to relatively small communities and to neighborhoods in larger communities, which not only limits its application but creates additional problems of coordination and relationship if a number of neighborhood efforts attempt a combined attack on major urban problems.

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[27]Lloyd E. Ohlin, "Indigenous Social Movements," in *Social Welfare Institutions: A Sociological Reader*, N. Zald Mayer (Ed.) (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 181.

The emphasis on community, moreover, comes at a time when the basis for social participation is shifting from locality to interest.[28] Martindale and Hanson note the decreasing importance of territorial anchorage, and current stress on common meanings and values rather than spatial location.[29] Moynihan indicates that the sense of general community is eroding, and a quest for specific community is emerging.[30] Even with a decreasing emphasis on geography, the community approach still needs to identify with some concept of community. In today's world, this appears to be a disadvantage, an effort to swim against the current.

Extensive participation in community affairs is highly valued, but participation by a large number of people raises questions as to how these people can be effectively involved in the community development process. In a modern, complex society, general participation is frequently of less importance than specific contributions by highly specialized volunteers. While large numbers of people may be needed to help plan and carry out a door-to-door community self-survey, most community work can be carried out by small groups of competent people. Value does accrue to the individual in participation, but unless he sees the community value of his participation, he will not participate for long. Broad-based participation in our urbanized society needs to be reexamined.[31] As Ross indicates:

> The town hall meeting, and all its modern counterparts, is a very simple answer to the question of participation in the life of the community. Unfortunately, life is no longer simple; but has in the past fifty years changed radically. The old model is no longer appropriate.[32]

Finally, the holistic approach presents some potential problems. There is a complexity of different interests and different groups, and a view that "everything relates to everything else," to the extent that the holistic view may make the community development process more difficult to carry out and add to the problems of organization. Even within a small community, the effort to strive for community wholeness may make it harder to establish priorities and agree on a course of action. Without skillful guidance, the process can stop before it begins, because the size and complexity of the community's problems seem too great and no one sees a reasonable way to "get a handle" on the problems.

These disadvantages are viewed not as arguments against the community approach but as cautions in the application of this approach to all community situations.

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[28]Warren, *The Community in America*, pp. 59-62.

[29]Don Martindale and R. Galen Hanson, *Small Town and the Nation: The Conflict of Local and Translocal Forces* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1969), pp. 11-16.

[30]Daniel P. Moynihan (Ed.), *Toward a National Urban Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 5.

[31]Anderson, "Our Educational Model of Participation Examined," pp. 79-88.

[32]Ross, "Community Participation," p. 107.

They also suggest areas in which additional theory and field testing are needed to modify the community approach where necessary, and to add new insights to its application.

Communications Requirements

The authors of *Community Structure and Change* define communication as "the exchange of knowledge, skills, and attitudes among persons or among social groupings. . . . The major purpose of communication in this sense is the achievement of understanding between persons or groups, but whenever one person or group desires to be understood by another person or group, the entire social process is involved.[11] Mutual understanding, then, is the major function of communication and the basic communications requirement in the community development process. Without this, groups cannot hope to understand the issues or the courses of action open to them. More important, they cannot begin to develop consensus without mutual understanding.

In addition to understanding, one needs to consider both the method and structure of communication. An effective communications process means an effective system of interaction which leads to wider understanding and shared values. In the community approach, particularly, this helps to establish and broaden the sense of community. Interaction among those involved in the process, opportunity to arrive at common understandings, and ability to develop trust relationships, are important objectives which must be reflected both in the methods which are employed and in the structures which are developed.

For example, meetings and written materials account for much of our communications efforts; yet limited attention is given to ways of improving our present efforts or experimenting with new approaches. How can people function best in a group situation? While research indicates the advantages of small groups and informal settings, we all too frequently work with large committees and groups in highly structured situations. How the group allocates its time is central to its effectiveness, yet it is not uncommon for a group to follow routine agenda. More effort should be made to set objectives for each meeting, and then to build the agenda with the objectives in mind. The group should remain flexible and be willing to revise agenda when changes are to the best interest of the group's efforts.

Beyond the more traditional methods of communication are a range of possibilities for the community group. It should be remembered that much of the communications process is carried out indirectly. Through their involvement in the community development process, people are also engaged in a communications process. Self-surveys provide a group with knowledge of community attitudes and opinions on a wide range of concerns. Workshops and self-studies help to identify

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[11]Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner, *Community Structure and Change* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 133-134.

various interests and concerns and to establish areas of common understanding. Small undertakings and pilot projects provide both first-hand experience and an opportunity to understand what is involved in the implementation of group decisions. Whatever methods are employed, they should be structured to the extent that the community group is clear about the purpose, direction, and potential receivers of each communications effort.

In the community approach, it is important to develop and maintain active and open communication among the participants in the process. It is equally important for the organization to have good communication with the community. Not only does communication between participants keep them informed and interacting, but it helps to build and strengthen mutual understanding and a sense of community. The relationships within the organization, and between the organization and the community, are the key to effective communication. In the community approach, much communication can be carried out through direct face-to-face confrontation, which allows for open discussion, questioning, sharing of attitudes, and development of skills in interaction.

Much of the strength of a community development organization is measured in terms of its ability to carry out its objectives. This ability is dependent in large measure upon the acceptance of the organization and its objectives by the community. Since at no time is a majority of the people of the community actively involved in the community approach, the ability to function rests on communication and on mutual understanding. If this understanding is lost, the organization becomes a minority voice, a segment of the community rather than an organization of the entire community. In all community development, but in the community approach in particular, mutual understanding is the essence of communications and of community.

Chapter 3

THE INFORMATION SELF-HELP APPROACH

Howard Y. McClusky

The right kind of information applied by knowledgeable participants at strategic junctures in the stream of community life can make a difference in the direction and quality of living. The community is here conceptualized as a "systemic stream" which precedes, surrounds, and continues after the Information Self-Help Approach (hereafter designated as ISHA) occurs; meaning that such projects are selective entities individuated out of a highly complex and changing situation. Participation is stressed not only because of its educative impact on those participating, but because it is believed that the knowledgeable layman and/or professional can contribute "relevance" and "credibility" to the processes and outcomes of ISHA.

Typically, the introductory phase of ISHA is exploratory in character. A following phase focuses on questions and selects responses to serve as guides to a program of inquiry. A final phase formulates recommendations which are designed to achieve tentative or final closure. It is suggested that recommendations can probably be grouped into five categories for implementation. It is also suggested that there are concurrent processes of feedback and emergence which intermingle with and influence the preceding processes.

ISHA is probably most effective and relevant in the early "simmering" stages of the "career cycle" of a community problem. If guided by appropriate "ground rules," controversy can be a productive feature of ISHA, especially in the formative phases of the coping process.

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In the following presentation, we propose to make a case for the educative use of information as a viable option in the instrumentation of community development.

It will be our thesis that the right kind of information applied at strategic junctures in the stream of community life can make a difference in the direction and quality of living. In the language of experimental design, the application of information will be regarded as the independent variable and the improvement of community life as the dependent variable. An elaboration of four subject-areas or variables is basic to the development of our thesis.

Variables

Participation

From the beginning, participation has been an indispensable feature in the practice and theory of community development. Participation leads to involvement, and involvement leads to a better understanding of processes and issues. The result is a stronger identification with and commitment to the implementation of decisions.

Participation quickens involvement and spreads the base of responsibility; it affects the participants. Even more important, the participants affect or contribute to participation. By participants, we mean those knowledgeable persons, lay or professional, who in their capacity as citizens are attempting to contribute to community betterment.

If we were concerned solely with the role of information per se, we would be justified in turning to the expert with specialized knowledge rather than to the citizen whose store of information is more elementary. But there are a number of reasons for believing that the substantive input of the citizen participant may be as valuable as that of the expert.

For one, knowledgeable members of the local community should be in a favorable position for proposing agenda items affecting the welfare of the communities with which they are acquainted. In their collectivity, and as representatives of the community as a whole, they should also be able to view issues in perspective and assist decisively in the determination of priorities. Possessing unique networks of association with their respective constituencies (formal and informal), they should have access to judgments and other data often difficult to secure. Having lived with the results of former decisions, they should have more experience with which to judge the possible impact of proposed measures. In summary, then, because of their location close to problem settings, they should be able to confer "relevance" on projects of community development.

They should also add a dimension of "credibility." In our society of large-scale bureaucratic organizations (public and private), the distance between the maker and consumer of decisions is widening. This is also true of relations between the expert and the layman; the communications gap is widening. The problem of psychological distance would be more manageable if it arose solely out of a lack of transmission, but the difficulty lies deeper. It reflects a lack of credibility. In too

many cases, the rank and file simply do not trust what the expert and/or top decision maker says. It is at this juncture that the role of the citizen participant becomes crucial. If a committee of citizens gathers data of its own, or endorses data collected by someone else, the probability is greatly enhanced that fellow citizens will accept the data.

In brief, on grounds of both "relevance" and "credibility," the contribution of the knowledgeable participant to the developmental process can be highly valuable and often decisive.

The Community Dimension

A second variable which is basic to our concept is that of the community dimension. To be community-oriented, it is not necessary that participation involve a large number of persons. Misled by the model of the New England town meeting, many people naively imagine that in order for a project to qualify as an example of community development almost everyone must get in on the act. Actually, and relatively speaking, only a small number do. It is important, however, that this number should be representative of the major elements of the population. It is also important that the opportunity to participate be open to those who wish to do so, that the public at large be kept informed, and that the project be accountable to the community for its behavior. Although active participation may not be widespread, the community dimension is essential for its validation.

What is meant by the term "community"? By "community," we are referring to people in a locality with potentially (if not actually) delineable boundaries; persons interacting with one another as individuals or groups in order to satisfy basic personal, social, and economic needs. A community is both a system and a stream. As a system, it is composed of many interrelated subparts; as a stream, it is in a constant process of change, with a past (history) and a future (destination) as well as a present existence.

The systemic and streamlike character of a community can scarcely be exaggerated. Whether it is an emergence from within, or an intervention from without, any episode or project of community development is a highly selective unit in a highly complex situation that was in motion before the project started and will continue in motion after the project ends. In fact, if the project lasts long enough, it is possible that the community will not be the same at the end of the project as it was at the beginning.

The Role of Information

A third variable requiring elaboration is the role of information in the processes of community development. It would not be surprising to hear skeptical dissent from a hard-nosed realist when information is proposed as a source of generative power for moving a community toward a better condition. Such a realist could list the

many instances of control over local affairs exercised by top-level absentee decision makers in governmental and private organizations. Even at the local level, he might argue, an individual equipped with no more than information is no match for persons supported by powerful political and economic groups. Moreover, he could point to the extent to which activism and militance are dominating the contemporary scene, thus indicating that the educative use of information as an instrument of community change is out of tune with the current *zeitgeist*.

There is an element of truth in the skeptic's argument. But after pressure groups have pressed, after the heat of confrontation has subsided and the smoke of conflict has cleared, the hard facts of a problematic situation have a way of reasserting themselves. Few decisions based solely on pressure, rhetoric, or elevated blood pressures, are destined to last long unless they somehow correspond roughly to the facts of the situation as it really is.

In an age of growing specialization, specialized knowledge, geared for the achievement of needful goals, is more and more becoming a source of power. Evidence in support of this view may be found currently in many quarters. The growing awareness of the many forms of pollution began as a program of public information. The multifaceted movement for consumer protection can also be traced to the dissemination of the results of strategic research. The League of Women Voters is a good example of what the nonpartisan use of carefully assembled information can accomplish. The foregoing evidence may not satisfy the rigorous canons of behavioral science, but it is familiar to anyone reasonably aware of current affairs. In fact, it suggests that the kind of information designed to support an attack on community problems may be a source of influence in modifying the direction and quality of community life.

The Coping Process

It is commonly assumed that the ISHA is essentially problem-solving in character. But a strict and literal application of the problem-solving model is misleading. It is misleading because projects of community development rarely embody the full range of Dewey's famous formulation which went from the first step of "felt need" to the final step of solution. Projects of community development may start an attack on a community problem and drop out subsequently, or may enter the process after it has arisen from some other point of origin. A literal interpretation of the term "problem-solving" implies the achievement of a solution representing a terminal degree of finality, which in practice is rarely attained and in reality is probably unattainable. More specifically, such problems as housing, delinquency, child care, and aging – to use our analogy of a stream – have been, are now, and will continue to be with us for the foreseeable future. However great the improvement along the way, they can never be regarded as "solved." They are as continuous as life itself and will appear and reappear with varying degrees of urgency and in varying patterns of manifestation. It is more appropriate to say that the ISHA is problem-oriented and that it attempts to deal with, and hopefully move

toward, the tentative resolution of some problematic difficulty. In this sense, it is accurate to say that the ISHA is oriented to cope with community problems, with the goal of improving community life.

Phases of ISHA

Exploration

The first phase of the ISHA is generally exploratory in character. It commonly begins with an expression by an individual or a group of some concern or deficit in community living. The word "exploratory" is used here because the ventilation of concern is more or less unstructured. People check their ideas with others but have as yet few defined goals in mind, and as yet no administrative mechanisms to which they can relate their efforts. In brief, this is a period of probing for common interests, estimating the probable availability of potential allies, clarifying ideas, and testing the feasibility of pursuing concerns to a more advanced stage.

If this initial effort is to survive, it must be based on a genuine need that is capable of being documented. Unless a need does indeed exist, the fictitious nature of concern will soon become apparent, and it will be impossible to attract the collaboration of co-workers in sufficient numbers or with enough motivation to sustain a viable program of inquiry.

A second condition for survival is that the need which presumably does exist is perceived by enough people with the right kind of equipment. In other words, it is not sufficient merely to demonstrate the presence of a need, but some person or combination of persons must become aware of the situation and care enough about its improvement to enlist fellow citizens in doing something about it.

Focus on Working Questions

If enough people are sufficiently committed, it then becomes necessary for the diffuse character of the exploratory period to give way to a more focused task search. Questions which were once asked in a speculative and free-wheeling manner, should become selective in their phrasing and intent. They may not necessarily pin the issues down to an unmodifiable position, but they should provide guidelines for the direction of activities. They are, in effect, the "working questions" which will largely regulate the search for information to be used in helping the community to cope with its problems.

Information from a variety of sources may be used for this purpose. One obvious source would be the opinion of people living in the community. This could be obtained from a sample of the population or from selected subunits. The opinions of community residents will not necessarily constitute a complete and accurate picture of community needs, since the separate perspectives of such persons may be limited and without access to reliable data about the community as a whole. Yet, as

the actors and the ultimate clients in community living, community residents have perceptions which possess a kind of face validity rarely found in more impersonal sources of information.

Another source of information would be the judgment of persons particularly knowledgeable about the problems with which the community is attempting to cope. These persons would generally fall into two categories: (1) those who occupy leadership positions in agencies dealing with the problem, and (2) those whose professions are based on keeping up with specialized knowledge in the field. In the domain of health, for example, the director of a public health agency would be an example of the first category; while a specialist doing research and teaching in public health would be an example of the second.

Still another source of information would arise out of a comparison of local conditions with state and national norms, with special reference to the problem areas which are the object of study. It is fortunate that in many crucial areas of community living such norms are available. Instances of congruence and/or discrepancy between local and national standards would reveal significant information.

In proposing the use of community opinion, the judgments of knowledgeables, and the use of state and national norms, we have been proposing a multifaceted census of problems as a means of providing the empirical material out of which questions may be formulated. At this stage in the ISHA, questions should be validated with as much empirical data as possible, before they are adopted as guides for further study.

Selection of Responses

After agreement has been reached on what questions should be asked, and after some rough determination of priorities among them has been established, the next phase consists of a search for appropriate responses with which to deal with the issues raised. The word "response" is used in preference to the word "answer" because "answer" implies a degree of finality that is rarely attained in the fluctuations of community development.

For our purposes, a response will be regarded as a project undertaken, a procedure employed, or a policy statement formulated for the purpose of attempting to cope with the problems toward which the questions are directed. Responses are attempts to provide tentative working answers to the questions which are being asked.

Such responses may be the product of a deliberative process in which informed citizens, aided by persons with specialized knowledge, are the key performers. Out of their collective judgment, they may come up with proposals of their own designed to meet the local situation; or responses may be derived from a canvass of the most instructive and "copyable" experiences of other communities. It is not

suggested that either a "borrowed best practice" or a proposal generated independently by the local group, if adopted, be regarded as a "sure fire" solution in advance of application, but as a way of responding to the issues raised.

In addition to generating their own ideas, as well as reviewing the experience of others, it is possible that members of a local group could sponsor the demonstration of a mini-project as a means of securing information in advance of more substantial involvement in action.

Recommendations

To a large degree, the motivation for an ISHA to community development stems from the fact that the ISHA is task oriented. Persons taking part may not expect a full-blown terminal closure as a reward for their effort, but they are usually sustained in their activities by a sense of achievement which they perceive as representing progress toward some goal. There comes a time, then, in the community development process, after the questions have been asked and responses have been proposed, when some crystallization of effort should take place. It is a turning point, a kind of stock-taking, a time for pledging the outcomes of earlier phases of inquiry. We will call this period the phase for making recommendations.

Items appearing here might be grouped into a number of categories. First, a recommendation for action. This could be undertaken by an ad hoc structure established explicitly for this purpose, or it could be assigned to an existing agency or combination of agencies already in the business of working with the problem with which the recommendation is concerned. Second, a recommendation for a campaign designed to inform the general public about the results of the study and what it means for the well-being of the community. Third, a statement of policy by relevant agencies concerning the main issues covered by the study. Fourth, a continuation of the project under ground rules and leadership that would improve its performance. Fifth, and finally, a recommendation for closing out the project, with a provision that a record of its origin, operation, participants, and results be filed with an appropriate agency (e.g., the public library) for future reference.

An ISHA is not necessarily committed to action per se, but it should be committed to the type of closure that encourages follow-up and/or continuation. Community development is a precious commodity and its outcomes should be shared with as wide a portion of the community as possible.

Concomitant Processes—Feedback and Emergence

Discussion of successive and overlapping phases is something of an abstraction of what actually takes place in the ISHA. What does go on while questions are being asked, responses being proposed, and recommendations being made?

From the start, as in all cases of complex human interaction, a process of activity and reactivity soon begins to get underway. An item of activity gives rise to or sets off a reaction, which in turn triggers an activity leading to a new reaction, and so forth. In this series of stimulus-and-response circuits, we encounter a classic example of feedback. And, as in most cases of feedback, it tends to regulate the flow of work. In some cases it may inhibit, or restrain, or even stop what is being done; so that the project may need to return to the beginning and take off in a new direction. In other cases, it may reinforce what is being done so as to attract new resources, take on new dimensions, and in general enhance the total operation.

Similarly, in the flow and counterflow of community development, we are often likely to encounter some emergent which is totally or almost wholly new and which did not appear in the original agenda of the project. Emergence may be a product of and overlap to a large degree with feedback. It is a new insight, new technique, new relationship, new priority, and new commitment that adds a new dimension to the working process.

In brief, preordained plans and schedules may be necessary to provide the minimal structure for keeping the diffuse operation of community development from falling apart. Structure should always, however, be light and flexible enough to adjust to the impact of negative feedback, and supportive enough to reinforce fresh ideas and directions that may emerge in the developing process. In an educative sense, both feedback and emergent happenings may provide "teachable moments" which could not possibly have been anticipated or programmed in advance.

Administrative Structure

The substance of the preceding discussion can be placed in an operational framework if a minimal structure is provided for its implementation.

First, it is proposed that the project of community development be subdivided into feasible subtasks, and that these tasks be undertaken by ad hoc task force committees. It is also proposed that membership on the committees be small and the members be selected for their interest, competence, and willingness to work, and that the terms of their service be staggered in order to provide for both stability and renewal of personnel.

Second, it is recommended that a steering committee (not too large) be established and composed of the chairmen of the task force committees and such other officers as may be necessary to manage its affairs. The major responsibility of the steering committee, as representative of the community at large, would be to supervise and direct the project as a whole.

A third element in the structure would be some mechanism for involving as wide a portion of the community as possible. This might be a council of representative citizens, with the participation of individual members at large. And/or it could

operate on the model of a town meeting assembly with which all the members of the community would be entitled to affiliate.

A Note on Crises

Difficulties in community living do not suddenly arise out of nowhere. They have a beginning, a latency, and a fluctuating rise and fall (the stream image). They may simmer, subside, reappear, accumulate, and heat up. And, in reference to the future, they may have a critical potential. In graphic terminology, they may be said to have a "career cycle."

In earlier times and in many communities today, where change is slower, and more incremental, by a process of trial and error mixed with improvisation, communities have been able to develop strategies of endurance and to adjust to their difficulties, even if they could not control them. But in many and even most communities, time is not being kind. On the contrary, change is occurring at an increasing rate, and problems are now moving more rapidly into a stage of crisis where rational methods of coping are much more difficult to apply.

This has enormous implications for the ISHA, which can make its greatest impact by working with problems in the early or "simmering" stages of career cycles. It is in this period that the educative use of information can make the most productive contribution to the developmental process.

A Note on Controversy

Sometimes the ISHA is misjudged as largely a consensus approach to community development. There may be some validity for this view in the later stages of a project, when agreement by a sizable majority of those concerned is necessary for the implementation of recommendations. But it does not necessarily apply to earlier periods. On the contrary, in the earlier, more formative stages, controversy can make highly valuable contributions to the process.

For one, controversy can give rise to a wide range of data. Too often, a premature call for consensus will result in bypassing situations which people with limited views would like to avoid. Controversy is one method of getting all the facts out on the table for inspection by everyone.

For another, controversy may have an important diagnostic function. It can provide a forum for the presentation of divergent views, the expression of which will assist in the clarification of issues and determination of priorities.

Finally, it may be a useful source of motivation. Inertia and apathy are often the most pervasive enemies of community development. Controversy can sting the lethargic into activity and often generate the degree of attention that a problem merits.

Under some circumstances, however, controversy can be more harmful than contributive. To be productive, controversy should take place under such ground rules as fair play, respect for the laws of evidence, and acceptance of widely divergent views without fear of reprisal; and it should be contained within the span of community toleration. Controversy should not, under normal circumstances, be avoided; with proper management, it can add significantly to the educative use of information. In fact, the practice of controversy could develop community confidence and skill in dealing with difficult "hot" problems, which in the long run could be the most viable contribution which an ISHA can make to the well-being of community life.

Advantages and Disadvantages of the ISHA

Advantages

1. The ISHA may be a financially economical method for the achievement of community development tasks. Much, if not most, of the work of the ISHA is a donation. It is service donated by the lay volunteer without any agency affiliation, as well as the service of professionals donated on released time by the cooperating agencies for whom the professionals work. ISHA is not more costly in time than other approaches might be. On the contrary, because of contributed services, ISHA requires much less financial outlay and is within the financial competence of many more communities than is generally suspected.

2. ISHA often results in a better quality of production, because knowledgeable participants close to the locus of problematic situations have a unique input to contribute in coping with community issues. They have usually had acquaintance with other attempts at community problem solving. They also have access to their own formal and informal networks of association. Such attributes can lend "relevance" to their input. Because of their role and image as relatively unbiased representatives of the public interest, their affiliation with the community development project lends credibility to its processes and results. All this should increase the probability of a better product.

3. ISHA often leads to important unintended outcomes which are highly educative in character and which generally outlast the project itself. It may develop skills in coping with difficulties experienced by representatives of the community as a whole, which can be applied to similar situations when the occasions arise. ISHA may upgrade the skills potential of individual participants. It may help them develop new skills and new networks of partnership which will increase their value as workers in other efforts at community improvement. ISHA may help both the individual participants and the community at large to stockpile skills and leadership resources, to be reactivated when some provocative difficulty arises in the future.

4. ISHA helps develop a "sense of community." Incidental to but an inevitable byproduct of ISHA, is the interaction that takes place between various elements involved in the project. One category of interaction occurs within the group of working participants themselves. Out of this sharing of attempts to cope with community problems, there often emerges a sense of fellowship which endures after project days are over.

   Another category is the interaction between agencies. As representatives share a common interest in the welfare of the community, new and favorable relationships develop which displace any ignorance or perceptual distortion which may have existed before the project began.

   In a final category are the interactions of the project with the community at large. These occur in the course of informal contacts between the participant workers and the community, in the reports of agencies to their respective constituencies, and in the project publicity designed for the general public. All this tends to cultivate an intangible "sense of community," which may go far toward sweetening the climate of community living. This intangible has often added substantial plusses to the relations between blacks and whites, labor and management, rural and urban, young and old, conservatives and liberals; that is, between elements of a community which typically move in different and often conflicting circles.

Disadvantages

1. One disadvantage of ISHA centers basically around the problem of motivation. The manpower of ISHA is usually composed of persons who are already and currently involved in community service. The problem becomes one of presenting an option sufficiently attractive to involve these persons in the new and hopefully compelling assignment. This is one of the reasons for the use of ad hoc task force committees. The task force can often be matched with one of a participant's central interests, and because of its ad hoc assignment and the rotating features of its membership, it does not pledge the participant to the project as a whole, but for an indefinite period of time. If he undertakes only part of the total activity, and knows that his term of service is intentionally limited, the participant is more likely to be willing and able to include the project within his repertoire of obligations. Motivation is a problem not only in the initial stages of recruitment but also for the duration of the project.

2. ISHA can too often end up by dealing with tasks of lesser importance, and bypass some of the urgent and more basic problems of the community. In part because of lack of access to adequate resources, and because of costs in time and effort, ISHA may settle for tasks which are feasible but not necessarily significant. In the view of the hard-nosed skeptic, ISHA can be accused of being trivial. In defense, it may be argued that a small beginning may become

the proving ground for skill and confidence that will lead to greater performance.

3. In our swiftly moving, activist society, ISHA may seem slow in getting things done. In general, the public and its leaders are task-oriented, and soon become impatient with exploratory talk and study. The slow pace of ISHA does not appeal to the aggressive kinetic types who want early results. Moreover, it must be conceded that there are instances of community need for which some other approach to community development is more appropriate.

4. ISHA requires a level and sophistication of leadership which is often in short supply. ISHA can usually perform more effectively if it is assisted by the advice of persons wise in the ways of community development; e.g., the guidance usually available in the personnel of public service agencies. Competent local leadership itself may be overworked or apparently unavailable, and such a situation requires special efforts in the identification and recruitment of potential leaders, tasks which in many instances add to the magnitude of the ISHA.

A Self-Help Community Discussion Course

The course in question, given at the University of Michigan, and sometimes entitled "How to Take a Look at Your Community," is composed of three divisions of subject matter. The first, although introductory, includes a review of the community as a whole. The second, based on a census of problems, centers on the needs and issues of community living. The third attempts to outline, and if possible rehearse, the steps which might be taken to resolve the issues which the earlier stages of inquiry have disclosed.

The course is designed for civic and organizational leaders as well as for citizens at large who are interested in promoting the welfare of their community. Any community group, or institution, or combination thereof (i.e., a community council, if one exists), interested in developing a more active and informed citizenry, may sponsor the course.

Membership in the study group ranges from about 12 to 50 persons. Up to about 20 in number, the group usually operates as a committee of the whole. When it is larger it may operate as a single group throughout the first and part of the second stages; but the third stage is usually more effective if small task force committees are assigned to study the issues which the problem census identifies.

The group usually meets for eight or nine (possibly as few as six) sessions for two hours per session, and usually once a week, although this may vary according to local circumstances. A member of the university staff takes charge of the first session for the purpose of explaining the course and briefing members who will lead subsequent meetings. Leadership comes from within the group and rotates from

session to session. In addition, members of the group have an opportunity to gather information between meetings; although this is optional for each person and depends on the nature of the problem.

The course has led to gratifying outcomes in different kinds of communities, from small towns to fair-sized cities in Michigan and in suburban Detroit. It almost always develops a fellowship of interest and helps those taking part achieve a better understanding of the forces operating in their communities. Perhaps most important, it helps a community face up to its needs in a spirit of thoughtfulness rather than in an atmosphere of hostility, name-calling, or panic.

Although the course is designed primarily as a means of increasing understanding of a community, it usually leads to action which carries on after the course has ended. More specifically, it often culminates in the formation of a community council, or in establishment of a library or a center for youth or older people. It may even play an important part in bringing in new industry. In one town, it led to the revision of the tax structure.

The procedure and content of the course are contained in an attractive kit of materials. This kit is made available to each member of the course.

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Chapter 4

THE SPECIAL-PURPOSE, PROBLEM-SOLVING APPROACH

Richard Thomas

This chapter examines major aspects of the special-purpose, problem-solving approach to community development as it applies to both micro- and macro-problems. It is based on a rational image of men who are capable of banding together for the solution of issues. Five steps are used in this approach: (1) problem identification, (2) resources mobilization, (3) program planning, (4) plan implementation or action, and (5) evaluation. Three case examples are presented in which water as a special problem is used to illustrate applications of the approach.

* * *

Concepts of community range from micro-systems (which include small groups, extended family units, clans, villages, neighborhoods, or small towns) to macro-systems (such as cities, counties, regions, states, nations, or the entire human population). Social scientists are engaged in endless study of the problems of both large and small human communities. Population size and density, geographic location, and kind and quantity of physical resources are all factors involved in the nature and character of the community. In attempting to determine the exact external boundaries of the community, the delineating concept of "city limits" is less functional than "problem identification" for the purpose of practical definition. There is, for example, community of interest on a life raft when a handful of shipwrecked survivors face a troubled sea. Their problems present an opportunity for "community." How they deal with these problems will determine whether or not they achieve "community." Similarly, with acceleration of technological change, men in all parts of the earth can develop a "community of interest" in terms of such

survival issues as population control, environmental pollution, or the possibility that Middle Eastern tensions will explode into global warfare.

Definitions of "community" differ in emphasis, but three essential elements are generally present: (1) a collectivity of people, (2) geographic location, and (3) something "in common" which gives people special identity, meaning, or purpose. The contributions of technology to improved communications and transportation have placed once-stable communities in an almost constant state of change as people move in and out of homes, neighborhoods, towns, cities, counties, states, and nations. A rural farming community in the Midwest may face serious population decline today and frantic, unplanned growth tomorrow as a result of a single political act in the state or national capital. Modern communities take on all of the characteristics of living organisms which move through cyclical changes of birth, growth, decline, death, and rebirth; they are subject to changing conditions of sickness and health in terms of economic, political, and social developments.

Roland Warren reminds us that communities are social systems or cultures within which subsystems or subcultures operate in both functional and dysfunctional ways.[1] It is unrewarding and misleading for community developers to cling to outmoded definitions which suggest that boundaries are the sole determinants of communities and which ignore such factors as human problems, needs, goals, or aspirations. Collective interests, based on common needs or problems, are catalytic ingredients for the establishment of "community"; as in certain mountain, desert, or island situations where the attractions of locale are strong or the options for escape limited. In such cases, the situation becomes the problem and the holistic approach to community problem solving is relevant. In other human situations, however, we find cultures and subcultures forming around common interests, needs, and problems. For the community-development practitioner, therefore, common interests, needs, or problems are not only meaningful definers of community but they are the *raison d'etre* for effective community development practice.

It is in the human situation, where people are faced with varying interests, needs, problems, and aspirations, that communities and subcommunities are formed. In such a context, community development may be viewed as a special-purpose, problem-solving process or method. Problem solving is an approach whereby collectivities of people living in a common geographical area can meet common needs, solve common problems, achieve common goals, and thus experience community development over a specified period of time.

It is possible for people to fall rapidly in and out of "community," and it is possible for people to sustain community over long periods of time. Communities which endure are those in which concerned citizens apply scientific problem-solving methods to collective needs and problems, and institutionalize the process by

[1]Roland Warren, *The Community in America* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1963), pp. 135-166.

establishing effective local government through which the people can function to meet their common needs through common services.

Variables

There are certain variables which tend to affect the results of the special-purpose, problem-solving approach to community change and development. Some of these variables are common to other approaches as well:

1. *Citizen awareness* of the scope and urgency of the problem, and of the availability of resources with which to work, can greatly influence the success or failure of the program. Lack of awareness of the problem can spell disaster, as in the case of a weakening dam; whereas advance knowledge of an impending break can mean appropriate action to correct the situation or evacuate the endangered citizens. Citizens who are aware of their resources are in a better position to effect useful problem-solving action than are those who are unaware.

2. *Citizen involvement,* or participation, tends to be an important factor in successful problem solving in terms of kind, amount, and duration of the effort. It also has much to do with quality of life and with the economic and political stability of a community.

3. *Availability of resources,* both internal and external to the community, is often a crucial variable in the problem-solving process.

4. *Timing* is perhaps the most important variable of all. Poor timing of a community education effort can delay notification of a crippling epidemic; whereas advance notice can prevent widespread suffering through programs of innoculation.

5. *The nature and scope of the problem* is an important variable. For example, food production as an economic issue may determine the relative prosperity of farmers, wholesalers, and retailers; but food production as a survival issue affects everyone.

Assumptions

The special-purpose, problem-solving approach appears to cast man in a rational image. Man and communities of men are seen as capable of uniting around an issue and devising a solution that accrues to the benefit of the largest number of persons.

Assumptions leading to the employment of the special-purpose, problem-solving approach are related to the philosophical base. Furthermore, specific problems are assumed to be resolvable by use of the problem-solving approach. This approach

rests heavily upon the availability of research skills, information-dissemination skills, and organizational ability.

Problem-Solving Method

Because of the diversity and complexity of modern-day living, and the speed with which multiple changes are affecting human communities, local governments are hard-pressed to keep pace with institutional and bureaucratic means for dealing with needs and problems. For this reason, community development is rapidly emerging as a profession and the CD professional is hired by local, county, state, and national governments and agencies as a "trouble-shooter." Community development is an expertise which employs scientific problem-solving methods to deal with the special kinds of problems and needs which plague communities undergoing rapid change.

The size, locus, and other physical characteristics of the community have only secondary relevance to the key steps in community problem solving:

1. *Problem identification* is an awareness, on the part of the people influenced or affected by the problem, to such an extent that there is a growing discontent or desire to take some action toward its solution.[2] Where multiple problems or needs are identified, analysis and careful study are required in order to establish priorities and to gain maximum perspective on the most urgent problem to be solved. In some communities, it is possible to engage in simultaneous, multi-various, problem-solving activities, due to the existence of the essential ingredients (viz., the necessary human and material resources).

2. After the problem has been identified, studied, and understood, the second step is one of mobilizing the *requisite resources*. The search for resources starts within the community. If the needed resources cannot all be found locally, the perimeters of the search are widened until the resources requirements are met in full measure and with precise specifications. Often planners fail to see people as resources, yet the human resources in the community development process are critically important in effective problem solving. Being able to identify and mobilize the various kinds of human skills, energy, and imagination is as necessary to the process as lining up the material resources; and it is certainly as important in problem solving as the initial phase of "problem identification."

3. *Program planning* requires that every major sector of the affected community be represented on the planning body in order to insure that the plans proposed

[2]There are alternative coalescences to "problems"; e.g., the needs, goals, aspirations, etc., which people have in common and which become the motivations for engagement in problem solving. For example, there is the *need* of a better school system. The *problem* may be how to achieve it.

are understood as widely as possible; and, more important, all of the people must feel close to the program and must have an opportunity to criticize the plan and make constructive suggestions for its improvement.

4. Next is *program activation*, again with the fullest possible participation of community members, including the very young and the very old. Capacities to serve and support a program of action are almost as diverse as individual differences in human personality. Some individuals can give labor, some can give time and ideas in committee service, others can contribute money, and some may be able to give only their consent. Consent is preferable to opposition, and indeed is a highly acceptable form of participation for those who are either physically incapacitated or unable to serve the project in other ways.

5. Effective problem solving requires *evaluation*, which is by no means least in importance. In fact, it is an ever-present, ever-functioning process which must be operative in all of the steps in order to insure that the project is critically analyzed in terms of strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures. When the project is completed, evaluation is important in order to determine what lessons can be applied to subsequent problem-solving efforts.

Case Studies

The five-step method of problem solving has many variations and is not intended to be the "final word" or an absolute formula. It is meant to suggest that a systematic approach to community problem solving can bring about solutions to problems that motivate people to mutual purpose and action.

There is, for example, the special problem area of water, which is a vital element for man's well-being and survival. It is one of those natural resources which through either scarcity or overabundance creates "special problems" for communities. If the supply of water is cut off, communities can perish, just as surely as they can be destroyed or forced to relocate, by floods and inundations. Water is also essential to community life as a means of transporting goods, and for economic and recreational purposes.

The following three case studies illustrate how water, as a special problem, has brought about problem-solving activity of a special-purpose nature that we can identify as community development.

The Soboba Story

The Sobobas, like most of the 30 or so bands of Mission Indians, live on reservations or rancherias on leftover lands in the recessed areas of the Southern

California mountains and on deserts where they were placed to be conveniently "out-of-sight," yet near enough to be recruited as cheap laborers in non-Indian homes and on farms. The Soboba Indians live near the small town of San Jacinto in the foothills of the San Jacinto Mountains, on the northern edge of the Hemet Valley. The valley is a rich agricultural area planted largely with fruit orchards, where Soboba Indians earn submarginal seasonal incomes.

Three important events or influences emerge as key determinants in the shaping of the problem which is central to the Soboba story:

First, there was the drilling of a 16-foot diameter tunnel through the San Jacinto Mountains by the Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District (MWD) in 1936. The tunnel, bringing Colorado River water into the arid Eastern Basin, was a boon to the non-Indian farmers and land developers in portions of Riverside and San Diego Counties. It was, however, a disaster for the Indians. Prior to the MWD tunnel, 19 artesian springs and wells flowed on the Soboba Reservation and enabled the Indians to raise their own vegetables and livestock and to have their own fruit orchards and vineyards. Halfway through the mountain, the tunneling operation broke into the underground reservoir of water which fed the Soboba springs, and in a matter of months, all of the springs dried up. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) brought pressure to bear on the MWD to seal up the tunnel so that the underground reservoir would fill again and restore the flow of water to the Soboba springs. However, "sealing" operations failed and the Soboba spring water continued to flow through the MWD tunnel into the Eastern Basin, leaving the Indians literally "high and dry."

Second, a contributing factor to the Soboban problem had to do with the apparent conspiracy of two white men who were interested in getting a generous cut of the claims settlement to California Indians for their aboriginal land losses suffered in the Anglo invasion following the 1849 discovery of gold at Sutter's Fort. One of these men was a Washington, D.C., attorney and the other was a controversial figure among the Mission Indians.

The deadline for hiring an attorney to submit Indian claims before the U.S. Court of Claims was April 30, 1948. Because of the peculiar allowances of the Court of Claims, one Indian, through proper legal procedures, could enter a claim in behalf of his tribe or band. Thus, on the precise deadline date for the hiring of attorneys, two contracts (one on behalf of 17 bands of Indians, the other on behalf of 29) were laid on the desk of Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman. Both contracts were "general power of attorney" agreements, granting the attorney and his "representatives" the usual annual retainer fees, plus 20% of the claims settlement (10% for legal fees and 10% for expenses incurred in preparing the case). The contracts were to expire April 30, 1958, unless renewed by petition of the Indians affected. Only one Indian signed the contract on behalf of the Soboba band;

and if there was any general discussion on the reservation, the "general power of attorney" was certainly not understood, and the entire matter was forgotten by the Soboba people and the BIA officials in the District Office.

Third, a complicating factor in the Soboba problem was the bureaucratic inflexibility and insensitivity of the BIA officials serving in the Area District Offices at the time of the MWD tunnel disaster and for the two decades that followed. Records show that certain non-Indians who suffered similar but lesser water losses from the same tunnel episode received prompt out-of-court settlements from the MWD, but no efforts were made by the BIA on behalf of the Indians.[3]

As late as June 20, 1957 (21 years after the tunnel disaster), a report was filed by a BIA appraiser, taking the position that there was no conclusive evidence supporting the charge that the MWD tunnel had caused the water loss to the Soboba people.[4] There was no mention in this report that the MWD had, in fact, made an offer to the Sobobas for an out-of-court settlement of $45,000 (plus 5% interest retroactive to 1936), nor was it mentioned that said offer had been rejected by the Indians as unsatisfactory.

The BIA did drill a number of deep wells, each of which rapidly went dry. In May 1957, the last of these wells was going dry and the Indians were starting to haul water in from nearby San Jacinto for their domestic use.

While the major problem (and need) at Soboba was restoration of the water supply in the amount enjoyed prior to the tunnel disaster, the general power-of-attorney contract, and bureaucratic insensitivity on the part of the BIA and the MWD, compounded the problem-solving difficulties at Soboba.

The first approach used at Soboba was to gather as much factual data as possible from the Indians, from non-Indians in the area, from the BIA, from the MWD, and from newspaper accounts of the 1936 tunnel disaster. The Soboba tribal council and other interested Indians were very much a part of the data-gathering and analysis processes.

The next step was to line up a team of experts (water attorneys and engineers) to assist with the expert analysis of the data and to make recommendations for a plan of action. The Indians decided to hire their own attorneys to litigate against the MWD. In the process of moving a resolution for hiring attorneys through BIA

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[3]In the County Clerk's Office, Riverside County, Court Action File No. 29826, dated October 18, 1937, records that an out-of-court settlement of $50,000 was made by the MWD to the Gregg Brothers, who owned land adjacent to the Soboba Reservation, after they had entered suit against the MWD for $75,000 as compensation for estimated water losses.

[4]Bureau of Indian Affairs Report, Riverside District Office, June 20, 1957, addressed to Miss Rita Singer, Solicitor's Office, Sacramento, California, and signed by Mr. Robert Hill.

channels, the attorney who had been approved for the claims case took steps to block the move on the grounds that he was the attorney of record for the Sobobas. The other attorneys backed off when faced with the contract, and the Soboba Indians were shocked, angry, and bitter at what appeared to them to be another defeat and humiliation in their dealings with the white man. But the Sobobas were also thirsty, and their need for restoring water to the reservation united them in an effort to do whatever was necessary to attain this goal.

The Sobobas were helped to understand what channels of power and action were open to them. For example, they learned that in order to enlist the help of people in power (e.g., the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Congressmen), they needed to become registered voters. A registration campaign ensued, followed by a letter-writing campaign to strategic power-figures in Washington. A tribal council resolution and letter to their recently discovered "attorney in Washington," inviting him to a tribal meeting to discuss with them what appeared to be a "fraudulently arrived-at contract," brought about the attorney's resignation from the two contracts binding the 46 bands of Indians.

Having broken the contracts, the Sobobas found that within a year's time they were able to achieve what they had been unable to obtain in over two decades of dependency on BIA action. The effectiveness of their letter writing was evidenced by the following positive consequences: (1) The Washington attorney resigned both of the contracts which he held with the Sobobas and 45 other bands of Indians. This freed the Sobobas to hire their own attorneys for the MWD litigation. (2) The BIA was made to reassess its role and deal with California Congressmen who were making interested inquiries into the case on behalf of the Indians. (3) The MWD, spurred by the inquiries of the BIA and other government agencies, offered a settlement which, although less than the Sobobas had hoped for, was sufficient to bring MWD water to the reservation. The water supply is now piped to many of the houses on the Soboba Reservation, directly from the MWD San Jacinto tunnel. (4) The Soboba people had a lesson in the use of power expressed through appropriate channels to accomplish their goals. They learned that, as registered voters, they could call upon their elected officials in Washington to serve their interests and needs, and that government agencies set up to service those needs are responsive to those in the higher seats of power. (5) After breaking the general power-of-attorney contracts, new attorneys were assigned the Mission Indian cases pending before the U.S. Court of Claims; and an ultimate settlement of more than $30,000,000 was awarded in 1963 to Southern California Indians for their aboriginal land losses.

The Sobobas did not have to hire attorneys to carry their water case against the MWD to court, because they were able to act together in sufficient numbers. Water

was restored to the Sobobas because they participated in effective community problem solving, which was focused on a clearly recognized and urgently felt common need.[5]

The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Regional Project in Water Control

The Tennessee River is 650 miles long and drains a basin of approximately 41,000 square miles, including portions of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In the late 1700s, people began to settle in this valley and to use the river as a means of travel by boat between Knoxville and New Orleans. As the population grew, the timber was cut, and over time the land was abused through improper agricultural practices. Soil depletion and erosion caused increased flooding as rains washed valuable topsoil toward the sea. As the land became scarred and barren from the seasonal flooding of the river and its tributaries, the people became increasingly impoverished.

In time, men began to view the rampaging river not as a personal problem but a regional problem which touched the lives of millions of people in a seven-state area. After a decade or more of dreaming, planning, and political squabbling, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established on May 18, 1933. The TVA Act, under the sponsorship of Senator George Norris of Nebraska, provided for the harnessing of the Tennessee River system for the primary purposes of flood control, navigation, and power. It also had the secondary purposes of encouraging agricultural and industrial development, reforestation, research and planning, and activities in the national defense.[6] By 1951, 18 dams on the river and its five major tributaries had been completed under the TVA to bring about ultimately a system of 28 dams, which provided over 11,500,000 acre feet of flood-control storage, an improved channel for river transportation between Paducah and Knoxville, and the production of over 3,000,000 kilowatts of electricity for the region.

TVA stands as an impressive achievement in community development. Through a regional effort, people took the necessary political, administrative, and educational steps to solve the problem of river control. Statesmen, philosophers, engineers, planners, and community developers from all over the world study the colossal achievements of TVA, which go far beyond the initial concern of flood control. Arthur A. Morgan, the first director of TVA, believes that:

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[5]The author served as a Field Worker for the American Friends Service Committee, among the Mission Indians, engaging in such community development activities as leadership training, tribal organization, and resources development.

[6]*The American Peoples' Encyclopedia*, Vol. 18 (Chicago: Spencer Press, 1971), p. 675.

Regionalism must be a servant of the general good and not its master. It is a means, not an end. It denies absolute sovereignty to any limited area or people. It departs from any concept of political sovereignty which would see the state as the ultimate value. Regional government need be no more permanent than the issue it seeks to solve.[7]

Morgan also believed that the Tennessee Valley was "almost a perfect region for river control," but was not a natural area for such matters as power distribution and soil-erosion control, or for crop rotation, because of certain physical, political, ethnic, social, and cultural differences in the people who make up this vast region.[8] It was, however, largely out of the regional awareness of the need for river control that a community of interest developed and, with the cooperation of citizens, politicians, and public administrators on both state and national levels, TVA became the means not only for controlling the river but for solving many other problems. Special-purpose problem solving is clearly demonstrated in this multistate regional area which has seen the conversion of the destructive potential of a rampant river into a rich resource for the people of the valley.

Citizen Victory for a Better Environment

It is a rare phenomenon when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers reverses its plans on a project once these plans are off the drawing board. The citizens of the State of Florida accomplished a "miracle" when on Tuesday, January 19, 1971, President Nixon announced the cancellation of the Cross-Florida barge canal (a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers project), which would have connected the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico through a 107-mile long 9-feet deep waterway, and would have saved shippers a 600-mile journey around the Florida peninsula. The project, had it been completed, would have inundated the Oklawaha River basin, a natural wildlife area of unusual beauty.

Ben Funk, of the Associated Press, Gainesville, Florida, wrote the following account of a unique community-action effort on the part of citizens whose interest in their environment involved them in effective problem solving of regional and national importance:

Majorie Carr wasn't paying too much attention as the speaker at a meeting of the local Audubon Society talked about plans for the Cross-Florida barge canal.

Then, as his finger traced a route on a map, she sat up in sudden alarm. The finger ran straight down the valley of the Oklawaha River, one of the most beautiful wild streams in America.

"It was the first I had heard of it," said the Micanopy housewife. "I was horrified."

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[7]Arthur A. Morgan, *The Small Community* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 72.

[8]Ibid.

Out of that little meeting on the night of November 8, 1962, Mrs. Carr came to organize a small band of nature lovers to do battle with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

What started as a one-woman fight was to mushroom into a mighty roar of protest against destruction of natural resources—a fight that reached its climax . . . in the White House.

President Nixon announced then he was ordering a halt to the canal to save "this region of unusual and unique natural beauty."

As her first move, Mrs. Carr organized a "Save the Oklawaha" group within the Alachua Audubon Society. The members turned out large maps of the canal route and mailed them all over Florida. They wrote letters to their congressmen and state officials.

For more than two years, steadily growing in numbers, the Gainesville group clamored for a public hearing. Finally on January 5, 1966, Gov. Hayden Burns suggested that they state their case at a water resources meeting in Tallahassee.

More than 350 persons, including representatives of every major conservation organization in the nation, were rallied to attend the Tallahassee meeting and hundreds of protest letters were submitted.

By now, however, the dredges were chewing their way up the Oklawaha Valley. The fight seemed hopeless.

Then, in the fall of 1968, the Rodman Dam closed on a 15-mile stretch of the Oklawaha. Great trees, which had been lashed down in the muck of the valley, popped to the surface in incredible numbers. Others, left standing in water, began to die. Water weeds spread like wildfire over the stagnant, rising pool.

By this time, The Environmental Defense Fund of New York began making news with its successful court fights against the use of harmful pesticides. The EDF agreed to handle a suit against the Army Engineers for an injunction against the canal.

The Gainesville group, joined by others from all over Florida, met and organized the "Florida Defenders of the Environment" to research information for the suit. Its initials were EDF, in reverse.

At the same time, in an adjoining room of an Orlando motel, Conservation 70's was being formed, a statewide conservation movement that was to become a powerful political force in the 1970 Florida elections. It formed an alliance with the FDE.

Now the FDE brought in environmental scientists from around the nation to study the canal project and its effects on the ecology. The ball was rolling.

The Army Engineers Corps found itself in the position of having to defend its digging at every turn.

On September 15, 1969, the EDF filed its suit in U.S. District Court in Washington. It charged the Corps with violating the constitutional rights of the people of the United States by destruction of natural resources.

The Florida Department of Air and Water Pollution Control gave the movement a huge boost with a report calling the canal "the most devastating project ever undertaken in Florida."

The Florida Senate Committee on Natural Resources voted 5-0 for an investigation to determine whether the state should withdraw its support of the canal. And last June, Interior Secretary Walter F. Hickel asked the Army for a 15-month moratorium on the digging, for further study of its environmental impact.

An FDE poll of candidates in the 1970 Florida elections showed 81 percent favoring a moratorium or abandonment of the canal. Only one percent favored completion of the canal as planned.

The beginning of the end came January 15, when the Washington court issued a temporary injunction halting some phases of the canal work.

Then President Nixon announced that he was stopping the canal to "prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage."

Mrs. Carr's reaction? "I was bowled over!"

The case studies of special-purpose problem solving have several things in common: (1) Water was the prime factor creating a need or a problem. For the Sobobas, it was essential for the sustenance of life; for the people of the Tennessee Valley, it was flood control; and for the people of Florida, it was environmental preservation versus commercial interests. (2) People in identifiable geographic locations were affected by conditions which ultimately moved them to collective action. (3) By the application of problem-solving approaches, necessary planning and action were accomplished to meet the needs or problems of those concerned. (4) The people involved in each of the programs or projects felt a strong community interest before, during, and after the project was completed. (5) None of the case studies demonstrates that preestablished boundaries were important, or even useful, in identifying a genuine community-of-interest around the central problem. (In the case of the Soboba Indians, the water issue was real for those who lived on the reservation, and unreal for those who lived off the reservation; but the lack of water also involved non-Indians off the reservation. The community boundary, therefore, was not congruent with reservation boundaries.)

In sum, concepts of "community" must be relevant to the important concerns, problems, needs, goals, or aspirations which move people toward collective action. Static, outmoded concepts of community e.g., political, economic, and jurisdictional limits are not only dysfunctional but often catastrophic for effective planning and action in community development, where the needs and problems of people actually do define the "community."

THE DEMONSTRATION APPROACH

George S. Abshier

Community development is a process of inquiry and group decision making intended to enhance the social, economic, or cultural well-being of the community. A community is a group of people that shares a common interest or problem. The demonstration approach involves the display of methods or results which may be either positive or negative. It can be used to show that certain procedures work, or that other procedures will probably result in failure. It involves the problem of applying the methods and results of development in one community to another community. The most important application of the approach is in adaptation of the model to the objectives of community residents.

The various kinds of communities must be distinguished, and the differences between rural and urban communities, public groups, news media, and channels of communication. It is essential to remember that communication lines must allow for flow of information in both directions.

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The demonstration approach in community development is distinguished from the experimental approach in that, while the experimental approach is basically testing of an idea or a hypothesis, without prior knowledge of the results, the demonstration approach shows methods or results. It is, in fact, a "show and tell" type of approach, where a high probability of desired results has been assured through previous testing and application.

There are two basic kinds of demonstration: (1) The method demonstration, which shows how to do something, and (2) the result demonstration, which shows what happens in a given set of circumstances and generally describes relationships.

A successful demonstration approach, especially in community development work, implies consideration of at least two major aspects. First, the type of change being demonstrated must be related to some specific objectives sought by the community. These objectives may be achieved by a problem-solving demonstration or by a goal-achieving demonstration. In either case, some specific community objective is achievable through the demonstration approach. For example, if the community's objective is to build a new medical center, the tentative approach may be a method demonstration based on successful procedures used in other similar communities. A method demonstration based on procedures used in a similar community to build a grain elevator may, however, be quite inappropriate.

Second, the characteristics of the demonstration must have some relevance to the community where it is to be used. For example, if the objective is to provide improved medical services, the approach may be a method demonstration based on successful activities used in other communities which are similar and have like goals. A demonstration based on activities conducted in an urban community may not be appropriate in a rural community.

Both the method demonstration and the result demonstration can be effectively used in community development work. The method demonstration can be applied when it is desirable or essential to show how to organize for some community development activity, to show or explain various alternative approaches, or to show the planning process.

The result demonstration can be used effectively to show what happened in another community, how a program was organized, how money was raised for a project, how plans were carried out; or to show the effectiveness of different methods for carrying out certain projects. While it is true that no two communities are exactly alike, it is usually easy to identify a community that has attempted a project closely related to the problem or question under consideration. Community developers, however, need to be alert to recognize pitfalls, methods that failed, or methods that did not work sufficiently well, as well as successful result demonstrations.

Either kind of demonstration may be used by most agencies, institutions, and/or organizations involved in community development. An example of the range of utility is reflected in the use of the demonstration approach by an educational

organization such as the Cooperative Extension Service,[1] as well as in the use-potential of conflict situations, where radical organizations may use the method demonstration to train their operatives.

Variables

Information (kind and accuracy) is a major variable. The community developer who uses the demonstration approach is saying to the community: "given certain circumstances, a specific course of action is likely to produce the predicted results." If, however, information is generated within a geographic area where customs and social patterns differ from those in another area, the results may not be appropriate; and, as a result, the community development effort may fail. Incorrect interpretation of information may also produce unexpected or undesirable results when the demonstration is repeated.

The *nature of the community development goal* is another variable. The goal for community "A" may differ from the goal for community "B" and subsequent differences may alter the desired results. For example, in one community the method demonstration may be implemented, whereas different goals make the result demonstration desirable in another community.

Time is a third variable. The method demonstration often requires a projection of needs and goals. By this, it is meant that the major payoff in the method demonstration may follow the application of the process demonstration. Thus, a two-step sequence is implied and, subsequently, more time may be needed for the method demonstration.

The *relationship of the community developer to the community* is a fourth variable. For example, the method demonstration has been suggested as a time-consuming

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[1]Extension work grew out of an early effort to teach new farm practices by showing evidence of success. The story of "demonstration work," as told by O. B. Martin, "the fighting prophet of the demonstration idea," is an interesting account of pioneer work which should be familiar to every extension worker. The county agent, more than most people, has to live with the results of his teaching. The idea of demonstrating recommended practices was behind all the early progress in extension work. Reprinted from Lincoln David Kelsey and Cannon Chiles Hearne, *Cooperative Extension Work* (3rd edition), p. 342, copyright 1963 by Cornell University. Used by permission of Cornell University Press.

Home demonstration work with women in extension had its origin in tomato-canning clubs. The first efforts of Seaman A. Knapp, generally recognized as the pioneer of extension work, demonstrated improved cultivation by showing in actual field conditions the results of different practices.

In Cooperative Extension, result demonstrations are common and have been used extensively in tours, field days, visits, and media such as television, newspapers, and radio, as well as in movies, slides, sets, and illustrated lectures.

approach; for in some instances, the community developer may be required to maintain a continuing relationship with the community over a long period of time. Such a continuing relationship suggests additional implications, such as prolonged financing of the project.

Leadership characteristics are a fifth variable. For example, Community "A" may have sufficient leadership to use a method demonstration, while in Community "B" the result demonstration may be more likely to yield the desired results.

Assumptions

Community development workers, who use the demonstration approach intuitively if not consciously, hold certain assumptions concerning the nature of man and of the approach:

First, the demonstration approach is based on the assumption that *man is rational.* Given a workable model for change, man will adopt that model.

Second, the assumption is that *man is able to learn.* Given a method demonstration, he will be able to repeat it, or to select parts applicable to other situations.

Third, there is the assumption of *cooperation.* Without the cooperative participation of local individuals, no demonstration can be very successful.

Fourth, the demonstration approach assumes that *pertinent information is available* in a useable form.

Fifth, a basic assumption is that *methods based on scientific fact or experience can be demonstrated,* or that *results based on reliable experiences can be shown.* Thus, a guide is provided, an illustration of some of the "do's" and "don'ts" to be considered in carrying out phases of community development.

Several key items are pertinent in the demonstration approach: (1) the facts presented must be accurate; (2) method or results shown must be complete, concise, and involve an honest assessment; (3) the method or results demonstrated must be related to the concern or need of those interested in the method or results; and (4) it must be possible to translate the ideas of the demonstration to the questions or problems of the community that is involved in the development.

Some other assumptions that appear to have a significant influence upon the direction and emphasis of the demonstration approach include: (1) significant behavior is learned behavior; (2) significant behavior is learned through

interaction; (3) people are capable of giving direction to their behavior; and (4) people are capable of creating or shaping much of their environment.[2]

Advantages and Disadvantages

The demonstration approach can be used to prove that something can be done, that the community has solved some of its problems, and that certain approaches will work. It can also be used to prove that some approaches will not work, or that there are certain problems associated with certain techniques. We should be alert to the use of the demonstration approach in cases where the negative aspect is needed as well as where the positive aspect is required. It is just as important to help prevent the community from making a disastrous mistake, costly both in material resources and human feelings, as it is to develop a positive program that results in social or economic payoff.

The demonstration approach helps overcome the resistance of people to change. As Gordon Lippitt points out, "There are eight situations when people resist attempts to change: (1) when the purpose is not made clear; (2) when they are not involved in planning; (3) when an appeal is based on personal reasons; (4) when the norms and habits of a community are ignored; (5) when there is poor communication regarding a change; (6) when there is fear of failure; (7) when the cost is considered too high, or the reward for making the change seems inadequate; and (8) when the present situation seems satisfactory."[3]

The demonstration approach also helps eliminate a lack of understanding, provides a specific base for comparison, and stimulates questions that have not been asked previously. It provides an incentive for planning by a community which desires that development take place.

The principal disadvantages of the demonstration approach relate to the problem of applying the methods and results of one community to another community. No two communities are exactly alike, but factors and characteristics of communities may be similar. Even though they differ in number, there are the same characteristics or forces for change. Similar tools and methods of techniques are also available, and similar results may occur as responses.

The demonstration approach requires that solutions to the development "problem" be available and operational. Necessary information must be "in-hand" rather than limited to theory. This, too, may be considered a disadvantage.

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[2]Donald W. Littrell, *The Theory and Practice of Community Development* (Columbia: University of Missouri, Extension Division, 1970), p. 4.

[3]Gordon L. Lippitt (Professor of Behavioral Sciences, School of Government and Business Administration, George Washington University), *Selected Perspectives for Community Resource Development* (Raleigh, N.C.: Agricultural Policy Institute, 1969), p. 254.

Still another difficulty or disadvantage of the demonstration approach is that the persons conducting the demonstration generally put their best foot forward. That is, they show the best side of the community, the best results, the positive reactions, the successes; and omit, ignore, or depreciate the failures, problems, objections, or difficulties. It is essential to dig through the frosting to get to the cake. It is necessary to probe into problems, and find road blocks, dead-end streets, and hidden costs, both economic and social. It is essential to expose the fine points that make the difference between success and failure in a particular endeavor. Here, again, is where the community developer can exercise his expertise in asking the right questions at the right time.

Application

The model must be adapted to the objectives of the people in the development community. This requires all the skill, expertise, and know-how of the community developer, whether he is involved in the educational, research, or action function of community development work. Translating the activities, accomplishments, problems, methods, and achievements of the "demonstration community" requires an objective approach involving skills of analysis, program planning, decision making, problem solving, and forecasting. Most of all, it requires the unbiased inputs of the persons involved.

Communications

All work in community development will be ineffective and sterile unless there are accurate, swift, effective communications systems; so that ideas, problems, methods, and facts can be communicated clearly, concisely, and with full understanding at both ends of the communications network. The communications requirements of community development work are complicated by the fact that there are so many variables involved in the communities and the public groups, as well as so many different disciplines and subject-matter interests.

There is great variation in problems, needs, and levels of comprehension. For example, there is a wide difference between rural and fairly large metropolitan areas and urban areas, and between the smaller cities and the small rural towns. The metropolitan areas, for the most part, have at their disposal a number of professionally trained personnel to help with problems, analysis of solutions, communication of information, and all the other phases of community development. They also have at their disposal a variety of media; e.g., television, radio, newspapers, and individual newsletters and publications which emanate from chambers of commerce, businesses, and industrial establishments. As communities decrease in size, the number of people available for carrying out the communications function, and the number of news media channels, diminish. In many counties there is only one county newspaper, and sometimes only one radio

station, or none at all, in an entire county. In many counties, the county newspaper is a weekly publication.

In developing any strategy for communication of information on community development work, the total range of publics must be analyzed and considered. As indicated above, the types and number of news media channels will depend largely on the density of the population. In addition, the ability and number of leaders will depend somewhat on the density of the population, but also on the type of business or industrial activity which predominates in the community.

In communicating information about community development demonstrations, a large number of civic and social groups need to be considered and involved. These include chambers of commerce, Jaycees, and a wide range of civic clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimists, and Exchange Clubs, as well as many special-interest groups, some strictly local in nature.

In analyzing the publics involved in any communications strategy, consideration must be given not only to the leaders of a given community but also to the individual citizens. Some of these citizens have strongly vested interests, usually on both sides of any given question or issue.

It would be difficult to provide a communications blueprint for the communities and the various publics involved. In any given situation of community development demonstration, the communications network needs to be carefully designed: (1) to involve all available communications systems that can make a contribution, and (2) to do the most effective job of providing communications. It is usually advisable to involve some of the communications media, community leaders, and others, in a planning session to develop a communications strategy.

One of the important things to remember in a communications plan is that an effective communications system allows information to flow in both directions. The return line should be kept open, so that community development educators can receive signals concerning additional or changing community needs, as well as complete and accurate information on the results of demonstration endeavors. The failure to make specific plans for effective feedback appears to be one of the weaker practice-areas among community development people.

THE EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

William McNally Evensen

The experimental approach is based on the principle that the task of developing theory cannot be separated from the generating process. Through an experimental approach, the community development process is open to observation and analysis for the purpose of improving theory and practice; in particular, the positive and negative aspects of a given procedure may be instructive. The experimental approach is by design methodologically compatible with the other approaches to community development.

A framework is suggested whereby community development theorists and practitioners can verify and determine the predictability of community development procedures, thus promoting experimentation within the field. A case study suggests the parameters within which this approach produces results.

* * *

The purpose of the experimental approach is to develop and refine community development theory and practice; to test and verify the efficacy of a particular community development concept or technique during a community development effort. In this way, conceptualizations are transformed into theories and operational techniques are translated into practice for utilization by other community development approaches. The distinguishing characteristic of this approach is that it is designed *to establish or modify a truth*, while the other community development approaches are designed *to demonstrate or prescribe truth.*

Methodologically, this approach is based on the principles of grounded theory suggested by Glaser and Strauss.[1] It is pragmatic, open-ended, and process-oriented. Emphasis is on discovery, on the inductive, rather than on demonstration or prescription of any particular set of theoretical or operational objectives.

A community development concept or operational technique is set in a pragmatic environment with little expectation as to outcome. The process is observed and examined closely, allowing for free development of data. From the process, and through comparative analysis, data emerge upon which to base further community development theory and practice.

The emphasis on process should not be confused with the overall process orientation of the community development field. This approach observes and analyzes the process as a means of developing and refining community development theory and practice. This is in contrast to the demonstration or informational approaches which utilize process as a means for accomplishing certain predetermined outcomes. In the experimental approach, process is used to formulate and develop hypotheses, not for testing of specific hypotheses.

Definitions

The field of community development is characterized by multiple definitions. Erasmus, in his sample of 59 policy articles, could find general agreement on a definition of community development in only 60% of the articles;[2] and, as recently as June of 1971, the Goals Committee of the Community Development Society was unable to decide upon a single definition. If the term community development is difficult to define, attempts to define community development goals, approaches, techniques, or outcomes are equally as difficult.

Community Development

Based on the general concepts of M. Ross (1955), T. R. Batten (1957), W. Biddle (1965), and M. Clinard (1966), and the principles expressed by the International Cooperation Administration (1956), the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1961), and the XIth International Conference of Social Work (1962), community development is viewed as an educational problem-solving process designed to help a community solve its problems through group decision making and group action. There are five phases in the problem-solving process: (1) definition of the problems, (2) identification of resources, (3) analysis of alternative

[1]Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), pp. 1-262.

[2]Charles J. Erasmus, "Community Development: Science or Ideology? Community Development and the Encognido Syndrome," *Human Organization*, 2 (Spring 1968), p. 65.

courses of action, (4) implementation of action, and (5) evaluation-modification. Extensive citizen participation and opportunities for self-determination are requisite.

Experimental Approach

The experimental approach to community development, defined as a process for defining and refining community development theory and practice, sets a particular community development concept or technique in an experimental framework. The use of the term "experimental" needs further clarification, since it is based on the principles of grounded theory rather than on traditional experimental designs such as are described by Campbell and Stanley.[3] Campbell and Stanley recognize the problem of using experimental designs in broadly conceived social-action community development programs. They state that, "There are, in fact, several quasi-experimental designs applicable to single groups which might be used to advantage, with an experimental logic and interpretation, in many situations in which a control group design is impossible."[4]

Weiss and Rein, discussing the problem of utilizing traditional experimental designs with broadly conceived social-action programs, point to four difficulties: (1) the problem of developing criteria, (2) a situation which is essentially uncontrollable, (3) treatment which is not standardized, and (4) an experimental design which discourages unanticipated information.[5]

More recently, Campbell (1968), in his article "Reforms as Experiments," suggested the use of quasi-experimental designs in order to avoid some of the problems inherent in social reform (community development) programs.[6] Weiss and Rein suggest that "a more effective methodology would be more descriptive and inductive."[7]

In view of these methodological problems and the sparse literature on the experimental approach to community development, the principles of grounded theory and Mezirow's use of grounded theory for adult educational research prove

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[3]Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 1-71.

[4]Ibid., p. 37.

[5]Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: A Cautionary Case and a Moral," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, No. 385 (September 1969), p. 140.

[6]Campbell, "Reforms as Experiments," *American Psychologist*, 24 (April 1969), pp. 409-429.

[7]Weiss and Rein, "Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs," p. 142.

most adaptable to the task of defining an experimental approach to community development.[8] According to Glaser and Strauss:

To generate theory, . . . we suggest as the best approach, an initial, systematic discovery of the theory from the data of social research. Then one can be relatively sure that the theory will fit and work. And since the categories are discovered by examination of the data, laymen involved in the area to which the theory applies will usually be able to understand it. . . .

In contrasting grounded theory with logico-deductive theory and discussing and assessing their relative merits in ability to fit and work (predict, explain, and be relevant), we have taken the position that the adequacy of a theory for sociology today cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated. Thus, one canon for judging the usefulness of a theory is how it is generated—and we suggest that it is likely to be a better theory to the degree that it has been inductively developed from social research . . . Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. Generating a theory involves a process of research . . . Our position, we hasten to add, does not at all imply that the generation of new theory should proceed in isolation from existing grounded theory.[9]

Mezirow amplifies further:

This approach means that a researcher would go into the field, free of predetermined theoretical constraints, to construct analytical categories out of qualitative similarities and differences which emerge from the study of situations such as inner-city adult basic education programs, university extension credit programs, residential programs on public affairs, community groups, etc. . . . Grounded theory constitutes no set of assumptions but rather an integrated body of generalizations of various levels of abstraction, continually in process of refinement and restatement through testing against an even broader segment of reality. . . .[10]

Glaser and Strauss use the strategy of comparative analysis as their chief analytic tool:

Our discussion of comparative analysis as a strategic method for *generating theory* assigns the method its fullest generality for use on social units of any size, large or small, ranging from men or their roles to nations or world regions. . . . Our strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on *theory as process:* that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product.[11]

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[8]Jack Mezirow, "Toward a Theory of Practice in Adult Education," *Cogito—Knowledge and Action in Adult Education*, No. 1 (April 1971), pp. 2-11.

[9]Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, p. 6.

[10]Mezirow, "Toward a Theory of Practice," p. 6.

[11]Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, p. 32.

Mezirow elaborates further:

> This approach calls for continually testing the validity of the emerging conceptual categories against comparable situations under study. Although the data would be primarily obtained through direct observation and interviewing, the investigator will commonly supplement this with data from historical records, letters and diaries, life histories, public records, and unpublished writing of colleagues, arranged group discussions, and review of relevant personal experience.[12]

Thus, the experimental approach develops theory from the process by which it is generated. By holding no expectations as to outcome, the experimental approach can be pragmatic in its attitude toward changing project objectives. Consequently, it requires a broad data-collection system and employs comparative analysis as its chief analytical tool.

Community

"Community" may be defined as people with a common interest. The common interest may be social, political, psychological, economic, cultural, or geographic.[13]

Theory

The definition of Glaser and Strauss may be cited:

> The form in which a theory is presented does not make it a theory; it is a theory because it explains or predicts something . . . grounded theory can be presented either as a well-codified set of propositions or in a running theoretical discussion, using conceptual categories and their properties.
>
> Making a distinction between category and property indicates a systematic relationship between these two elements of theory. A category stands by itself as a conceptual element of the theory. A property, in turn, is a conceptual aspect or element of a category. . . . It must be kept in mind that both categories and properties are concepts indicated by the data (and not the data itself); . . . In short, conceptual categories and properties have a life apart from the evidence that gave rise to them.[14]

Concept

In order to contrast established and unestablished theory, the term "concept" is used to denote unestablished theory.

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[12]Mezirow, "Toward a Theory of Practice," p. 6.

[13]Philip E. Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 1-12.

[14]Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, p. 36.

Practice

Community development practices are operational considerations of theories. They are proven, established strategies and tactics which are designed to produce a specific result in the community development process.

Technique

In order to contrast established and unestablished practice, the term "technique" is used to denote an unestablished practice.

Variables

A community development effort confronts the same problems of experimentation that are confronted by a broadly conceived social-action program.[15] It is exceedingly difficult to control the independent and dependent variables and to identify the intervening variables. In using an experimental approach, it is desirable to identify and treat a particular concept or technique as an independent variable that lends itself to experimentation. One should avoid determining the "good feelings of participants," or the far-reaching spillover effects of a particular action, and concentrate on items that can *at least* be observed and measured descriptively.

The role of the independent variable in the experimental approach is delineated by Lehmann and Mehrens:

> For any experimental study there has to be an independent variable (treatment) that is manipulated by the experimenter and this independent variable must be under his control. Subjects should be randomly assigned to the groups also. Some researchers insist that randomized assignment of subjects to treatment groups (or levels of treatment) is a *necessary* part of the definition of experimental research. Others say that randomization is very desirable in experimental research but need not be a part of the definition. . . . Nevertheless, the reader must be cognizant that manipulation of the treatment is the minimum requirement of an experimental study.[16]

The independent variable may be manipulated within, between, or among projects. This is feasible when dealing with manageable variables, e.g., a classroom, intelligence test, or video-tape demonstration, but can be impractical when dealing with large units such as a neighborhood organization or a school system. In contrast, the dependent variable—that which is being treated by the independent variable—must be identified throughout the process. New people, groups, and

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[15]Mezirow, "Toward a Theory of Practice," p. 8.

[16]Irvin J. Lehmann and William A. Mehrens (Eds.), *Educational Research, Readings in Focus* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 333.

institutions may be affected by the treatment, or groups being treated may be withdrawn from the process.

In community development, intervening variables are elusive and cause difficulty, especially when attempting to determine causation; e.g., did community leadership training cause an agency to change?

An important variable is *time*. Since the experimental approach is based on process, an adequate amount of time is necessary for the evolution of data under a variety of conditions. With anthropological studies, for example, sufficient time helps to avoid the pitfall of conclusions based on the exception rather than the rule.

A hypothesis begins as an idea, a notion. It should not be formulated until an adequate amount of feedback data has evolved from the community development effort. Throughout the process, an openness to modification must be maintained, and the data-collection process must be broad enough to facilitate modification.

The experimental approach, because of its process orientation and lack of concern with results, can fit within any approach to community development. It is important, however, not to mix one approach with another; for example, it would be difficult to verify a demonstration practice in a self-help community development effort.

Assumptions

From a review of the literature, it is apparent that community development efforts differ according to the type of community (e.g., urban, rural, inner-city, or suburban), the type of people (e.g., ethnic factor, income bracket, age group, or religious affiliation), and the type of problem (e.g., service-oriented, economic, or social).

All community development approaches, however, are process oriented with respect to theoretical and operational assumptions, operational methodology, and the development of findings.

At the outset of the experimental approach, there are no predetermined hypotheses, only a set of objectives. As a result of the process, these objectives are formulated into general hypotheses which are tested against experience, and modified, reinforced, or abandoned, depending upon whether or not they work in reality. The data are designed broadly enough to permit assessment not only of variations from the original objectives but of entirely new objectives evolved from the process. From the process, or experience, data evolve upon which theory and operational practice may be based.

An assumption underlying the development of this approach is that the field of community development needs experimentation and verification of its concepts and practices. Erasmus' survey of 95 policy articles discovered only a few analytical studies (18%) that "show how the [community development] doctrine works in practice."[17] Likewise, community development definitions suggest a lack of experimentation within the field. Thus, one purpose of the experimental approach is to encourage and facilitate experimentation and verification of community development concepts and practices.

It is further anticipated that the experimental approach will promote broader agreement of concepts and practices within the field of community development and the acceptance of community development efforts. As stated by Glaser and Strauss, if an idea cannot be operationalized, it is of little value to the practitioner, or in this case, to the other community development approaches. The experimental approach develops theory and practice from experience in a manner that is compatible with the value systems of field practitioners.

Case Study

The following case study describes issues that can be treated with an experimental approach. It illustrates the experimental approach in operation.

The UCLA/Pico-Union Community Development Project

Following publication of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,[18] the University of California initiated an urban crisis program. In the words of University President Charles J. Hitch, the program was designed to "carry the thought and research of the campuses to the heart of the city," and to attack the "moral, economic and racial crises" which pervade the life of urban America. In late 1968, UCLA started several urban crisis programs. One project was to assist a small Los Angeles urban neighborhood (Pico-Union) solve its problems. The project was based on community development principles of self-determination, group decision making, and group action which required the university to assume the role of technical advisor/consultant/facilitator to the community.

The community of Pico-Union, located one mile southwest of downtown Los Angeles, was confronted with the typical problems facing old, residential, inner-city communities: i.e., poverty (50% of the families earned less than $4,000 a year), deteriorating and crowded housing, an expanding downtown business district,

[17] Erasmus, "Community Development," p. 66.

[18] Known as the Riot Report, or the Kerner Commission Report, it was commissioned by President Lyndon Johnson to determine the causes of urban rioting, beginning with the Watts riot in 1965 and continuing through the riot-torn summers of 1966 and 1967.

unemployment (24% of the adults), and lack of medical and social services. The fact that Pico-Union was a minority community (67% Mexican/Latin American and 8% black) was further complicated because 58% of the residents spoke Spanish as a first language.[19]

One assumption underlying a University of California urban crisis program was that a university could help solve urban problems. This was based on the university's past experience in solving agricultural, defense, and space problems, and in developing national public policy. However, the question of whether the university could assist a poor minority community in solving its problems had not been substantiated through experience. This question promoted serious debate within the campus community on two points: (1) was urban problem solving a function of a university? and (2) did the university possess urban problem-solving resources? Inasmuch as the primary objective of the Pico-Union project was to assist the community in solving its problems, a secondary objective was to analyze the process of interaction between the university and the community, to determine if the university was an urban problem-solving resource for inner-city communities. Thus, UCLA committed itself to assist the Pico-Union community for a period of 30 months without really knowing if it could assist, or in what way.

Because little experimental evidence exists regarding the question of whether a university is an urban problem-solving resource for an inner-city community, it is necessary to develop experimental objectives and hypotheses from the results of the project's activities. With this type of situation, an experimental approach to community development can be utilized productively. (The experimental approach to community development discussed in this chapter is based primarily on the experience of the Pico-Union project.)[20]

In the Pico-Union project, the experimental approach required the development of a set of objectives and a data-collection system broad enough to accommodate analysis of the objectives. As a first step, several assumptions were made: (1) the faculty reward system (publish or perish) would inhibit faculty involvement in the project, and (2) faculty involvement promotes the involvement of other university resources, e.g., students and staff. This required the project to develop and test methods for promoting faculty involvement. It was also assumed that the question of causation could not be determined; that is, the influence of university involvement on community actions could not be inferred because of too many intervening variables. For the same reason, the *quality* of a university response to a community request for assistance could be determined only by the community's

[19]Paul Bullock and William M. Evenson, *Site Occupant Household and Community Profile Surveys* (Los Angeles: Community Development Agency, City of Los Angeles, July 26, 1969), pp. 7-49.

[20]For further study of the Pico-Union Project, a full discussion of its process and findings is included in *The University as a Resource to Low Income Community Problem Solvers* by William M. Evensen, UCLA, School of Education, June 1972.

acceptance or rejection of the response. Moreover, university involvement in Pico-Union was limited to the traditional functions of teaching and research, and to the role of technical advisor/consultant. All of these, together, constituted parameters for the university's involvement.

From these considerations, and from the project's anticipated community development process, arose the following areas of concern:

1. Type of community request for assistance
2. Type of method for promoting university involvement in meeting community requests for assistance
3. Type of university response in meeting community requests for assistance
4. Type of community request that was not met by university
5. Factors inhibiting university involvement.

At the outset, each area of concern was broken down into categories which became the original program objectives:

1. Type of community request for assistance
   a. staff and leadership training
   b. research
   c. technical information
2. Type of method for promoting university involvement in meeting community requests for assistance
   a. financial compensation to individual faculty for services rendered
   b. purchase of FTE (full-time teaching equivalents) from academic departments or professional schools
   c. class credit (academic) for students working on a specific request
   d. regularly scheduled classes to meet community requests
3. Type of university response in meeting community requests for assistance
   a. type of university personnel: e.g., project staff, faculty, student (graduate or undergraduate), or university staff
   b. form of response: e.g., written report, verbal consultation, letter, or structured discussion (lecture or class)
4. Type of community request not met by university
   a. staff and leadership training
   b. research
   c. technical information

5. Factors inhibiting university involvement
   a. level of sophistication required by request
   b. resource does not exist on campus.

Data for these objectives were collected according to category and class. Primarily, descriptive data were collected for activities evolving from the process but not related to the original objectives, in order to anticipate the formulation of new objectives during the project.

With less than a year in the field, the project's activities necessitated reformulation of some objectives and abandonment of other objectives. For example, it was discovered that purchasing a faculty member's time from a department or school did not benefit the individual faculty member, and that timing (matching faculty resources with community requests) was practically unworkable. Consequently, this method was abandoned.

A positive correlation was discovered between faculty who met community requests and those who did not receive a consulting/honorarium fee. This finding suggested that the critical factor affecting faculty involvement was not payment for services but whether or not the faculty possessed the required skills. In other words, faculty became involved if they had skills; or, if the skill did not exist, the incentive of financial compensation did not create a response to the community request.

Throughout the course of the Pico-Union project, data were compared across categories to determine interrelationships. Objectives were refined or abandoned, and classes of data were added and/or deleted. For example, the analysis of one objective (e.g., type of community request) included in the data-collection system the amount of time required by the request, since some community requests (e.g., legal interpretation of an administrative regulation) required a week and a request for a market-feasibility study required 3 to 6 months.

At the conclusion of the Pico-Union project, several specific outcomes evolved which had not been evident at the onset. It was found, for example, that faculty, as well as graduate students, met community requests for technical assistance, such as developing a long-term economic development strategy for the community corporation. Another outcome was that skill, instead of a consultation fee, proved to be the critical factor in promoting faculty involvement.

These findings set the basis for more definitive explorations; e.g., specific hypotheses regarding the type of problems (operational vs. theoretical) that faculty can meet could be tested. It was also found that one method for involving faculty—the use of a regularly scheduled class as a vehicle for meeting a community request—benefitted everyone involved. Through this method, faculty met teaching obligations, students had exposure that they considered to be relevant, and the community received a response which was more comprehensive than other

university responses. This finding could be further explored or replicated by another university engaged in a similar activity, to verify the use of a scheduled class as a means for involving faculty and students in an urban problem-solving process.

The data indicate that a university is, at least, a limited urban problem-solving resource to an inner-city community. Furthermore, the experimental approach in the Pico-Union project, while helping the community solve its problems, resulted in the development and refinement of community development procedures at the same time.[21]

This type of experimental approach can be incorporated into any of the other community development approaches for the purpose of refining or defining a community development concept or practice. The Pico-Union project demonstrates that the approach can be used on a large scale, e.g., to assess the process of interaction between a university acting as a consultant and a poverty community acting as a client; or it can be used on a lesser scale, e.g., to assess new citizen-involvement techniques, such as video-tape, dramatizations, or group discussions in relationship to a specific problem (street widening).

Advantages and Disadvantages

The experimental approach offers the experimenter the advantage of operational flexibility. Pragmatism (willingness to change) and a process orientation (methodological openness) allow for the treatment of a wide range of activities and allow the experimenter to free himself from ill-defined objectives. Additionally, the very nature of the experimental approach promotes acceptance of its results. This is because it develops and refines hypotheses throughout the course of a community development effort, and because data drawn from a wide range of possibilities have a higher degree of utility than data grounded on limited possibilities. Moreover, the broad methodological framework of this approach permits and facilitates operational use by other community development approaches, and the use of its findings. Its broad process-oriented framework does not conflict philosophically with the other approaches to community development.

Most significantly the experimental approach provides a way for community development to experiment with, develop, and refine its concepts and practices. This promises to increase the acceptance of community development approaches by social-action agencies and theorists in other disciplines.

Orientation to process, however, can be a liability. It creates a high-risk venture. The process may yield confusing, contradictory, or inadequate data results. The evolving nature of data and openness to the formulation of new hypotheses (change

[21]It is to be noted that the data-collection system did not hinder community development activities and was useful in assessing and redirecting project activities.

is inherent in the approach) may prevent adequate examination of newly-formed hypotheses.

Simply stated, process does not guarantee the verification or rejection of a particular notion, but rather keeps one attuned to the constant changes that occur in community development. Orientation to process prevents entrapment by original assumptions, but the risk is high in that there may be few results other than the need for more experimentation.

Moreover, since the experimental approach attempts to treat unestablished concepts and practices, it is almost certain to experience more failures than successes, or at best findings which are inconclusive.

Time, which is essential to process, is another negative potential. Without sufficient time, the opportunity to obtain a wide range of data and experience is diminished. Without time, the freedom to formulate and to alter hypotheses and to reconstruct data-collection procedures is restricted.

Applications

Major restrictions to the application of the experimental approach can be found in: (1) the validity of the data, and (2) the interpretive skill of the researcher. Without validity, the data have little value; without interpretative skill applied to the data, the potential use of the data in other field situations is limited. For example, descriptive data may be the most reasonable means for assessing a broadly diversified preventive-education program, because of costs and time; but the level of validity may be raised when data is more controllable (e.g., video tape vs. teacher techniques). In theory, the experimental approach may be used by almost every kind of organization involved in community development; but, because of the high-risk experimental nature of the approach, it may, in fact, be limited to foundations and certain research units of universities.

It might be profitable to identify the type and kind of issue that can benefit from this approach. (1) individual activities; (2) group (neighborhood/community) development activities; (3) techniques for developing individuals and groups; (4) techniques for promoting institutional change; and (5) overall community development criteria. These five areas of concern can be analyzed according to socioeconomic status, type and size of community, and community development approach. The question of causation can also be assessed: Did training sessions cause a specific outcome? Did an outside resource, secondary to decision making, cause the community to make a certain decision? The question of causation can be reached via descriptive assessment because the different processes lend themselves to comparative analysis.

The agency, institution, or group promoting community development must be prepared to develop a communications system to fit the size or type of community

and the activities planned. If an issue involves an urban neighborhood, the communications network will be different than if five families are involved, or 10,000 people who do not speak English. Data must be collected and analyzed frequently, and feedback provided to those guiding the community development effort. In this way, those in the field can adapt their data-collection and program activities to the realities of the field, instead of adhering to preconceived notions.

The need to feed the results back to other community development theorists and practitioners is most important, in order to facilitate the immediate use of the findings. Ultimately, this feedback will enrich the entire field of community development and promote a wider practice of the expertise.

Summary

The experimental approach, all things considered both advantages and disadvantages is a valuable unit in the approaches spectrum available for community development. It can be used to test and verify fact and theory, to actualize and operationalize techniques, and to broaden and communicate CD practices. Among the various approaches to community development, the experimental approach is characterized as an agency to establish or modify truth, in contrast to the agencies of other approaches which are designed to demonstrate or prescribe truth.

THE POWER-CONFLICT APPROACH

Raphael J. Salmon and George A. Tapper

The locus of power is a force in community development. The traditional concept of power must be broadened in the context of our complex technological society. For power to be real, it must encompass the capacity for change. Struggles for ascendancy in themselves may have little meaning if the power to effect change is in loci other than the subgroups attempting to achieve the decision-making role.

As a background for understanding the meaning of power in the community development process of today, the historical antecedents of the power-conflict approach are examined. Contributions of both program activists and system scientists are highlighted and the limitations of each are pointed out.

The authors present a series of graphic tools for community developers to test. These tools are designed to aid in the development of a framework that will synthesize the many components affecting community intervention, thus creating a comprehensible and manageable unit. They are presented in the form of figures and matrices, and their utilization is demonstrated. Some implications for communications on the community level and through legitimizing sponsorship are also discussed.

* * *

Power is today's word in the vocabulary of those who would effect social change in America. Its uses are legion: as an expression of a threat or of hope, a slogan for

reform, a rallying cry for total overhaul of the social system, a name of a movement, or, all too often, a word of magic for a better life to be produced somehow by change in the status quo. We have Black Power, Puerto Rican Power, Italian Power, people's power, youth power, power cliques, and the power of the "haves," just to mention a few. Unquestionably, the word has significance for those in American society who are frustrated, dissatisfied, and convinced that their plight stems from powerlessness. Certainly, power is conceived by many as the fulcrum around which change takes place. Is there in power the road to desirable social change? Is it through innovative use of power that a new and more effective form of community development can be created in our complex, conflict-ridden, urban society?

These broad questions can be answered only by the examination of a number of basic questions. What is power? How is power exercised in communities? What is its role in social change? Is there a rationale of power in our society that supports a theory and practice of intervention to shift the basis of power for the common good? Can one identify or hypothesize a power-oriented approach to community development? The answers to such questions lie first in conceptualizations of power and of community. Then, relying on these conceptualizations, we can consider patterns of social intervention that will produce community change and development.

Definitions and Variables

Community development is an evolving form of social intervention and has its background in a union of community organization stressing local action and local resources, and economic development which emphasized planning and systematic movement toward defined goals.[1]

The community of today may be viewed as a complex mix of interacting components (e.g., city hall, spontaneous community groups, corporate business) from both the public and the private sectors, which, at different times and in differing situations, have varying capacities for power. At any given time, for example, development of a new technology, or political pressure from a party organization, or a community group confrontation, may alter the balance of power in the community system. The technology may introduce a new industrial component into the community structure, or change transportation patterns in the community, thus having an impact on living and working community subsystems. Changing political pressures may alter legislative patterns which govern the direction of community life. Community-group confrontation may introduce new elements into the power mix.

This concept of power recognizes many facets of power that operate simultaneously, and considers the totality of these facets as basis for a theory and practice

[1]Summation drawn from Irwin T. Sanders, "The Concept of Community Development," in Lee J. Cary (Ed.) *Community Development As a Process* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970), p. 9.

of community development. Thus, the concept of power is viewed as multifaceted in nature:[2]

1. *Power is the capability, know-how, and means to identify, create, and develop products that change the community and which, by their very existence have direct impact on community goals, priorities, and decision makers.* For example, the invention and mass production of the automobile produced massive changes in America and forced establishment of new community goals and a reordering of priorities. Similarly, scientific progress in the fields of nutrition and medication forced high priority on care of the aged in our community goal system.

2. *Power is the capability, know-how, and means to develop processes that cope with, respond to, augment, make workable, and build on the products of science and technology, as noted in (1) above.* For example, the capacity to respond to the invention and mass production of the automobile with a massive arterial transport system, or to the increase in the population of aged with a system of social security and medicare benefits, is a manifestation of power.

3. *Power is the capability, know-how, and means to evaluate, set control mechanisms, and measure the efficiency and effectiveness of products, as noted in (1) above, and processes, as noted in (2) above, thereby permitting determination of the optimum mix of inputs for community well-being.* Thus, development of urban transport goals depends upon assessment of the ramifications of alternative transportation patterns. Consideration of productive health-service programs for the aged depends upon our ability to evaluate and monitor the relative efficacy of various delivery systems.

4. *Power is the capability, know-how, and means to set goals and priorities.* For example, power is the capacity based on (1), (2), and (3), noted above, to determine what patterns of inter- and intra-city transport are desirable, what objectives our social security system should be designed to meet, and what should be the relative priority assigned to these goals in terms of resource allocation patterns.

5. *Power, at the same time, is the ability, right, authority, and responsibility to make decisions on community goals and priorities, and to obtain and allocate resources so that these goals can be realized in accordance with (1), (2), (3), and (4), as above.* The degree to which power is held by any subgroup within a community, therefore, may be reflected in its degree of impact on decision makers who have been legally (i.e., through election or appointment) or

[2]Formulation drawn from Raphael J. Salmon, "Health Care for the 1970's," paper presented at IEEE-ORSA Joint National Conference on Major Systems, Anaheim, Calif., October 28, 1971.

informally (i.e., through influence) accorded right, authority, and responsibility for making such community decisions.

The traditional view of power tends to relate primarily to (5), as above. However, (5), in the absence of (1) through (4), may be relatively meaningless. The capacity or power to create and/or resist change depends upon a mix of the elements identified above. Mere production of a large quantity of energy from various community subgroups is rather akin to a joust with a windmill if it is not accompanied by the power-control mechanism to develop products, to initiate a process for their utilization, to evaluate the effectiveness of both the products and the processes, and, in that light, to establish meaningful goals and objectives. This, in fact, is one of the factors that causes frequent frustration in urban community groups that may fight for ascendancy to decision-making positions only to find that their new position does not really bring with it the ability to control or to effect the change they had been demanding from the previous power holders.

Similarly, pressure generated by a neighborhood population may push a city council to action, but the change desired may well get lost in the bureaucracy charged with carrying out the ordinances set by the council; or the council may act in a different way because it did not have accurate information in the first place, or because the advocates of the neighborhood position held insufficient power.

The struggle for ascendancy per se, as implied in the definition of power in (5) above, has emerged in response to a world of unequal power distribution. The struggle is carried out generally by a variety of frustrated and dissatisfied groups, as well as by reform groups in society. These groups are sometimes successful and their successes encourage continued efforts at organization for change. Successful redistribution of power reduces apathy among the powerless and encourages citizen participation in community problem solving; however, it is only one aspect of the potential for community development built around power concepts.

The posited definitions of power reflect a concept of power-oriented community development that establishes a form of intervention capable of coping with the multiplicity of power sources and the variety of ways in which power may be exercised. This comprehensive approach to power and community interaction provides the rationale for a flexible and varied community development approach, with a view to producing more effective change.

Historical Antecedents and Assumptions

The origins of the power-conflict approach to community change lie neither within community development as it is practiced in America's aid program abroad nor in the homeland version of community development carried on between universities and small towns. These latter varieties of community development are concerned with unified, homogeneous community effort, the reduction of barriers between

elements in the community, and maximum participation in the problem-solving process of a relatively simple social order. They do not concentrate on community problems relative to race, poverty, or powerlessness; nor do they conceive of community change in terms of the impact of science and technology, or resource allocation patterns, or community goal setting.

For a conceptualization of community development in a power-conflict framework, one must look primarily to the action of social interveners. For example, there was the sponsorship and participation of civil rights organizers who, in the early days of the Black revolution, moved into the southern states, or the liberal elements in the labor movement, the philanthropic foundations and contract research groups seeking to demonstrate routes of change, the reform-oriented groups in the churches, and the advocacy-oriented professionals in law, planning, and social work. The writings and the organizing activities of Saul Alinsky, radical-change advocate and professional organizer for change, provide details of power-conflict theory and practice.[3] From the academic world, the sociologist Lewis Coser contributes a supportive analysis of conflict as an integral part and important function of social interaction.[4] In point of time, conflict-oriented community development dates back to early industrial and agricultural reform, but the height of the effort took place in the 1960s. In the mid-sixties, the administration of the Economic Opportunity Act provided a large-scale model of local-level, power-conflict oriented community action sponsored and nurtured for a time by the federal government on behalf of the War on Poverty.[5] For examples one may follow the work of activists organizing in minority communities, including the ethnic communities now opting to escape powerlessness in our large cities, and those who organize for power among special-interest groups (e.g., welfare mothers). Current activities demonstrate consumer power and the tactical strength of the women's liberation movement.[6] Included in this development is Alinsky's renewed call to the lower middle class to recognize its lack of power, and to the radicals (change makers) to help organize this group as the cornerstone of a major effort for change.

Although varied in origin and background, all of the change makers tend to define and conceptualize the power-conflict approach in the same way. They see it as an essential means of having impact and exerting influence on the decision makers in the community. So conceived, power increases the capacity of one part of the community to participate in community decision making and to change the agenda

[3]Cf. Saul Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals* (New York: Random House, 1971) and his *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

[4]Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956).

[5]Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[6]Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*.

of the decision makers who are setting the social priorities and allocating scarce resources for the total community. In this framework of community interaction, conflict between community subgroups, or between a subgroup and the community, is considered inherent in the social system. It is viewed as functional as well as dysfunctional, and there is the conviction that conflict can be optimized for the good of the whole community. Building from these foundations, we can trace the emergence of a form of social intervention (community development) directed towards production of conflict between a subcommunity, or component, and the decision makers of the larger community, with the assumption that increasing the power of the subcommunity will benefit not only that subcommunity but the larger community as well.

This power-conflict approach, with its historical antecedents, is only one aspect of the potential for community development built around power concepts. It is, however, too narrow in scope to match the complexities of power that exist in the community today. Alinsky has a record of successes and his teaching has fathered more, but his goal of a union of the powerless led by unified radicals has not come about. He did not achieve the massive effort for change that he sought.

Scientific Power Considerations

For community ascendancy to be meaningful, there has to be some understanding of the way in which power can be used to set and achieve reasonable and meaningful goals, viz., the role of science and technology in power-oriented community development approaches. Science and technology have contributed by providing us with many products that may be used as components in the actualization of social goals. Science and technology have also contributed to understanding of the process by which these products may be put to useful ends. The real challenge of community development today is to combine the multifacets of the concept of power discussed in (1) through (5), as noted previously. The results may be seen as akin to releasing the power of the atom and then seeking means of turning it to constructive rather than destructive purposes. Similarly, the power that may be gained through science and technology presents a challenge for development.

This challenge has been recognized, albeit in limited settings, for some time now. Thus, contributions to the theory of product-process integration have been made by industrial engineers specialized in time-motion studies, by chemical engineers focusing on unit operations, by economists concerned with benefit-cost and cost-effectiveness studies, and more recently, by operations researchers and systems analysts. Many of the techniques presently in use in government programming attempt to integrate product and process through goal-oriented planning. They have roots in procedures dating back to the 1950s, frequently encouraged and aided by the U.S. defense establishment. For example, the Program Planning and Budgeting System (commonly known as PPBS), implemented throughout the Executive branch in 1965, represents a systematic effort to forge links between

planning, programming, and resource allocation, in the direction of defined goals which make each increasingly relevant to the other.

This represents a shift in the approach to development problems involving what may be termed the socialization of science and technology. Not so long ago, volumes of governmental and nongovernmental studies concentrated on inventories of natural and human resources and scientific advances as a base for planning. Today, however, a new orientation is emerging. The concept of single solutions to identified problems is being replaced by recognition of the necessity for a multipathway approach to the challenges of development. The interrelationships between components have come to be recognized as often more significant than the presence or absence of a single component. This change reflects the relationships between the social and natural environments within which human communities function. It reflects the concept of community, as we have defined it, consisting of complex, dynamic, interacting systems of component parts which are so interrelated and balanced that changes in one component are likely to result in changes in other parts of the system. Thus, evaluation of the net results of a given proposed action (e.g., leveling of a wooded tract to make room for a new housing development) can be made only after comprehensive analysis of the intricate and diverse interactions among the components since these must operate harmoniously with respect to critical socioeconomic, physical, and ecological elements.

However, just as the power-conflict community development approach, which stresses decision-making ascendancy as the root to change, has limitations, so too, in application, the scientific power approach to change reflects its antecedents in systems analysis and engineering. As New York City Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello points out:

> The trouble with systems engineers is that they arrive on the scene too late and leave it too soon. They fail to help decision-makers with policy and objective formulation or with problems of implementation. The engineers tend to take it for granted that "what we say should be done" is known, and once they figure out how to do it, the program in fact can be implemented without further ado.[1]

What we are saying, in effect, is that there needs to be devised a form of community development suited to the problems of the 1970s — which are vastly different from those of only a few decades past — that relates to all sources of power affecting the community. A form of intervention must be established to cope with the multiplicity of power sources and the variety of ways in which power can be utilized, where and when it is needed, in line with realistic and feasible aims.

It is a fact, however, that in the United States we do not have a tradition for this kind of coordination, direction, and unified planning. Change or community development has always tended to be produced on a relatively ad hoc, unplanned

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[1]Quoted in Gabor Strasser, "Impediments to Societal Problem Solving: What Must Happen Before We Can Succeed," *IEEE Spectrum*, 8, No. 7 (July 1971), p. 46.

basis, and has frequently resulted in inefficiency and inequity in the creation of social products. There is, for example, the knowledge explosion, certainly a modern phenomenon which produces new technologies all the time. The change impact is felt and other components in society have to play "catch-up," so that they can cope with the change that has been produced. Thus, the nation quickly changed to jet travel, and equally quickly had to deal with noise, pollution, transit lines, railroad financial problems, and airport growth. Community development for the 1970s must be concerned with any one of the power-exerting components, or any mix of them. In a broad analogy, the community development role is somewhat like that of the clutch in an automobile, permitting the shifting of community gears to obtain different mixes or ratios of power. The community developer enters into the ongoing interaction of community power and, with appropriate skills and tools (e.g., science and technology), serves as a catalyst, motivator, measurer, unifier, and technical assistant, as well as in other roles designed to improve and enhance the social product.

This conceptualization is clearly based on a number of assumptions. For example, it is fundamental that communities must be considered as constitu'ed of components. These components vary in relation to power, and the power level of any one can be augmented. Community components that exercise the decision-making function would, by definition, usually be unwilling to surrender that function to other components. Finally, in terms of optimizing the output of the community in the setting of priorities to achieve social goals, and in the appropriate distribution of resources, it may be essential to augment the power of one or more of the components, keeping in mind the concepts of power as defined in items (1) through (5).

Approach and Application

Considering the broad conceptualization of power posited, and the community as a multi-componential system, it is necessary to develop some form of synthesis to render the thought of intervention workable, some way of making the complexity manageable. At this point, no discipline or combination of disciplines has yet come forth with a framework that effectively integrates the many alternative approaches to development in a comprehensive and constructive manner, while recognizing the existence of various routes to power ascendancy. In view of the complexity of the problems posed, simple answers will not be sufficient. Redefinition of our scope of concern, so as to simplify the problems involved, may make for more easily circumscribed solutions; however, the accuracy and adequacy of the solutions will be determined by the degree to which the redefined problem actually coincides with the realities of the problem area. Thus, for example, a housing program may be a problem area amenable to some sort of solution; however, the extent to which development of more housing of a specified kind actually solves the underlying conflicts and tragedies of a disadvantaged community is questionable.

To provide community development workers with some methodology for the purpose of synthesis, a series of tools have been developed. The following figures present some of these tools that are recommended to community developers as worth trying. The models are useful in identifying goals, specifying inputs necessary to achieve these goals, and considering the total social system within which the action takes place.

Thus, Figure 1 presents the social system in terms of components and their relationships.[8] Viewed in this manner, a community development worker may be better able to discern the essence of power relationships within the framework of the community. As may be noted, the worker begins with determination of community goals, objectives, and priorities. The importance of goal-directed planning on national as well as local levels was noted by the White House National Goals Research Staff, which identified and called for a concerted effort to put into perspective the major issues for development in this country.[9] The White House report focused on a number of emerging alternatives (conflicts) which are an intrinsic part of diversified community development efforts. For example, what should be the policy with respect to population distribution? Should this nation attempt to redistribute its population from urban ghettos, or should it focus on improving life in the ghetto? In terms of power, this means a decision as to whether power struggles over ghetto land should be aimed toward clearance of this land for other purposes, with building of suitable low-cost housing elsewhere, or whether they should instead mean renewal or replacement of existing structures with newer and better units which have the same fundamental purpose.

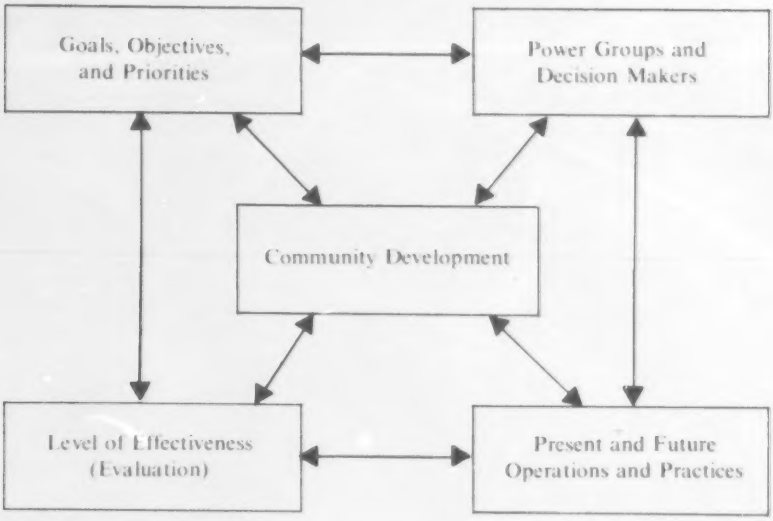
Determination of goals is only one part of the operating (working) system, however. In this modern heterogeneous society, there will be many goals that are of critical importance to our welfare and of legitimate concern. Since resources for achieving these goals are also finite at any given point in time, there has to be some means of selecting among competing interests, thus determining priorities, and this cannot be done effectively on a hit-or-miss basis.

One possible approach to the task of determining priorities is through judicious application of systems techniques, using a screening mechanism that focuses on program utility, feasibility, and appropriateness.[10] Questions raised through such a process may not be easy to answer, and their exploration may take time. This fact, in itself, often raises opposition on the part of activist groups which are anxious to

[8]Raphael J. Salmon, *Some Interrelationships Among Urban Problems* (Columbus, Ohio: Battelle Memorial Institute, March 1968).

[9]National Goals Research Staff, *Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity With Quality* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 4, 1970).

[10]For more detailed formulation and application of the screens, see Raphael J. Salmon, *Priority Assignments for Board on Medicine NAS Projects* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, September 2, 1967).


Goals, Objectives, and Priorities
Power Groups and Decision Makers
Community Development
Level of Effectiveness (Evaluation)
Present and Future Operations and Practices

Source: Raphael J. Salmon, *Some Interrelationships Among Urban Problems* (Columbus, Ohio: Battelle Memorial Institute, March 1968).

Fig. 1. The Community Development Process

get directly into the area of power conflict. For example, one may well ask whether it is wise or effective to undertake a project which is utilitarian and objectively feasible but runs counter to prevailing traditions to the point that its implementation is likely to result in conflict. This may require appraisal of both the likely outcome of such conflict, for the project could prove self-defeating if the opposition is too strong to be dealt with, and the advisability of considering alternative approaches to the same issue. At what level can conflict be utilized as a unifying force in the community through the wise professional guidance of a community developer? As Marris and Rein point out, the agents of reform must act as

"facilitators, analysts, and catalyzers, crystalizing the good intentions of many people around a common endeavor, yet without imposing on their 'freedom.'"[11]

Assessment of present operations and practices, as they relate to power groups and decision makers, may be aided by the matrix shown in Figure 2.[12] This structure presents a foundation for construction of community development theory in a realistic framework, within which tools, practices, and approaches can be fashioned. In a sense, the matrix presents a systematic picture or map of any community with the contents of the boxes, and their relationships to one another, making up the areas and routes of social interaction. These components constitute the variables of the development process. For example, the matrix identifies the actors who should be involved in each action, and the actions that relate to each other. On this basis, one can begin to consider factors such as program orientation, and areas of gap and overlap, and to determine the likelihood that change can be made in present operations and in planning by appropriate use of power. Such appraisal may then suggest action alternatives that can be realistically considered.

Appraisal of alternatives means consideration of the implications of the various options for public policy. For example, it can be asked, what are the benefits and costs of different proposals for changing the educational system in our urban centers? What effects would changes in funding patterns have on health care systems, demand supply relationships, and service costs? As Figure 3 indicates, evaluation and reevaluation of program options is based on what probably could be achieved if no change were made (estimated), on the potentials of the program, and on the achievements expected from each of the alternatives under consideration.[13] The difference between the curves provides a measure of the advisability of the program. Thus, if (a), which is the increment of change, is small between what performance would be expected with no change and what the program option suggests, then why have the change? Likewise, if (b), which is the increment between the program option under consideration and the program potential, is large, then why the reluctance to consider more suitable options?

In this manner, community development can utilize the systematic methodologies developed by related scientific and technological fields to assist in identifying at what points and for what purposes specific processes can and should be utilized. Through such applications, community development can play a key role in assisting decision making and changing power patterns, which means more than simply revitalizing citizens as participants in a democratic system.

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[11]Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform, Poverty, and Community Action in the United States* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

[12]For more detailed development and application of this matrix, see Raphael J. Salmon, *A Matrix Methodology for Evaluation of Health Systems* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, September 5, 1970).

[13]Raphael J. Salmon, *Medicaid: Some Thoughts Before Action* (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969).

Actions / Actors	INTERNAL						EXTERNAL	
	Access and Entry		Services		Program Management and Support		Resource Utilization	
	Operations	Planning	Operations	Planning	Operations	Planning	Operations	Planning
Recipients								
Providers								
Administrators and Managers								
Supporting Groups								

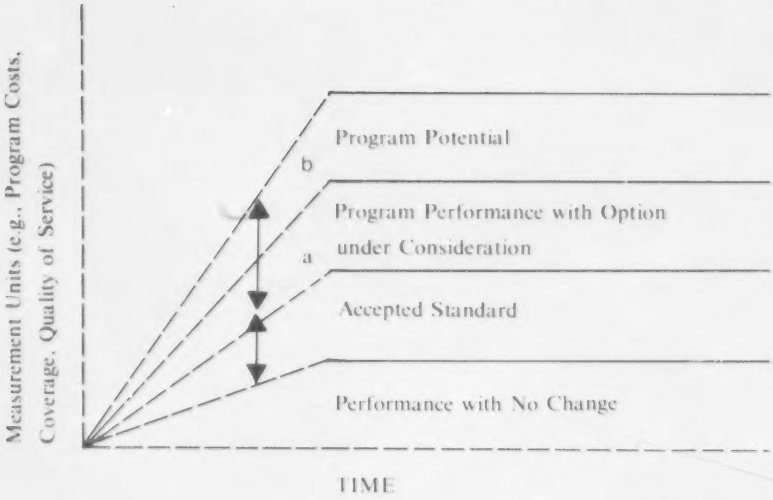
Source: Raphael J. Salmon, *A Matrix Methodology for Evaluation of Health Systems* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, September 5, 1970).

Fig. 2. Matrix for Evaluation of Community Programs

Communications Requirements

The interaction of power groups and decision makers may be conceived in Figure 4.[14] Note that the linkages between decision makers and public servants are direct and strong. Usually, the first are the "actors" and the second the "reactors"; thus the arrow is often one-sided. Similarly, the linkage between the public and community leaders is clear and is often a two-way street. There are far fewer lines of relationship and harmony, however, between the public and decision makers or public servants, or community leaders and decision makers. As shown in Figure 4, decision making is a component and product of the activities of the matrix in Figure 2. Power is one of the inputs that determines ultimate performance. Power is also a result of the role

[14]Raphael J. Salmon, "A Systems Approach to Research Priorities," paper presented at IEEE Region 3 Convention, Charlottesville, Va., April 1971.

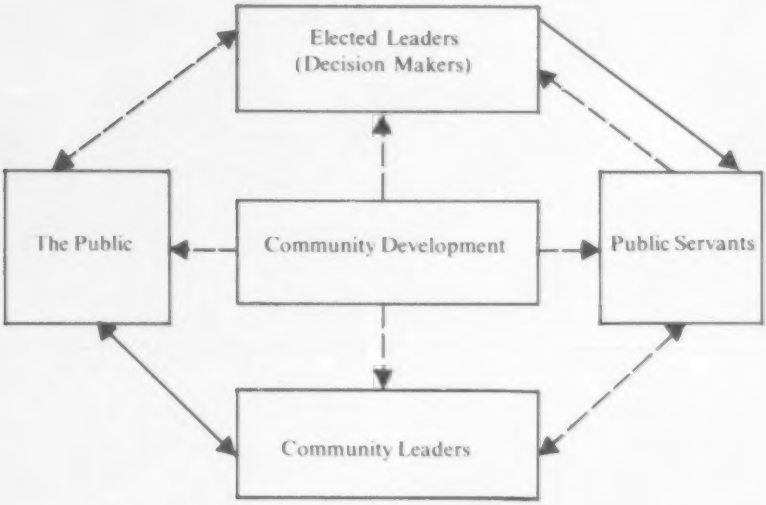


Source: Raphael J. Salmon, *Medicaid: Some Thoughts Before Action* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969).

Fig. 3. Assessment of Program Effectiveness

and interactions of component parts. Thus, a critical role of the community developer is to build bridges between the sources of power in the community, with the purpose of maximizing resources, utilizing the relevant tools of science and technology towards specific goals. In this view, the role of the community developer is to forge stronger linkages between all elements of the process, aiming towards clearly understood products.

Implementation of such a systematic approach to power-oriented community development may take place with varying sponsorship under many different settings. For example, we may expect the federal government to continue to sponsor intervention, thereby affecting the local decision-making process. Professional organizers of the Saul Alinsky model are likely to continue to make their services available to a variety of sponsors who are committed to change but not involved with operations. Local leadership organized around a particular focus of powerlessness, such as income maintenance in the welfare community, is continuing to grow as groups of the powerless increasingly feel the need and possibility for changing their status. Programs of intervention, through advocacy sponsored by professionals in given fields (e.g., planning or litigation), are in their infancy but have the potential of providing technical assistance and know-how to



Source: Raphael J. Salmon, "A Systems Approach to Research Priorities," Paper presented at IEEE Region 3 Convention, Charlottesville, Va., April 1971.

Fig. 4. Power Groups and Decision Makers: Lines of Linkage

deprived communities, enabling them to work more effectively within existing channels of approved conflict.

This brings us to a critical and timely question. Can community development, working through a university (especially a state-supported university), play a role in this effort to work with power for constructive ends through systematic application of the knowledge gained through science and technology? If so, what kind of role? How likely is such a role to find acceptance? This, perhaps, is the universities' challenge of the '70s.